

~~SECRET~~


~~NOFORN / CONTINUED CONTROL~~

POLES IN FRANCE

A Survey of the Activities of
Selected Polish Communist Organizations in France

DOCUMENT NO. _____
NO. SUBMITTED IN CLASS 4
☐ RECLASSIFIED
CLASS. AUTHORITY TO. TS S 8
REVT. AUTHORITY DATE. 2011
AUTH. UP TO. JAN
DATE. 21 1981

25X1A8a



January 1956

~~SECRET~~

~~NOFORN / CONTINUED CONTROL~~

POLES IN FRANCE

A. Size of Polish Population in France

The Polish emigres in France, one of the most important foreign ethnic groups in the world, are the largest Polish colony in Europe and numerically rank second to the Polish colony in the United States. 1/ In France the Poles numerically occupy third place after the Italians and Spaniards, but their social and political impact is greater than that of the other two groups. 2/

There are varied estimates as to the number of Poles in France, the highest being 1,000,000 and the lowest 400,000. The consensus is that 750,000 Poles live in France. 3/

B. Location in France*

Poles are settled in France in the following three main strategic areas: 4/

1. In the Departments of Nord and Pas de Calais. There are reportedly about 200,000 Poles in such coal mining centers as

* Included at the end of Section B are the following:

1. A map indicating the percentage of Poles in relations to the total foreign population in each department in France.
2. A map indicating the location of the Polish population in France by departments.
3. A chart tabulating the Polish population in France by departments and its percentage relationship to the total foreign population in each department.

Bruay, Lens, Marles-les-Mines, Barlin and Douai; in the center of the metallurgical industry at Valenciennes; and in the textile industry areas of Roubaux, Tourcoing and Lille.

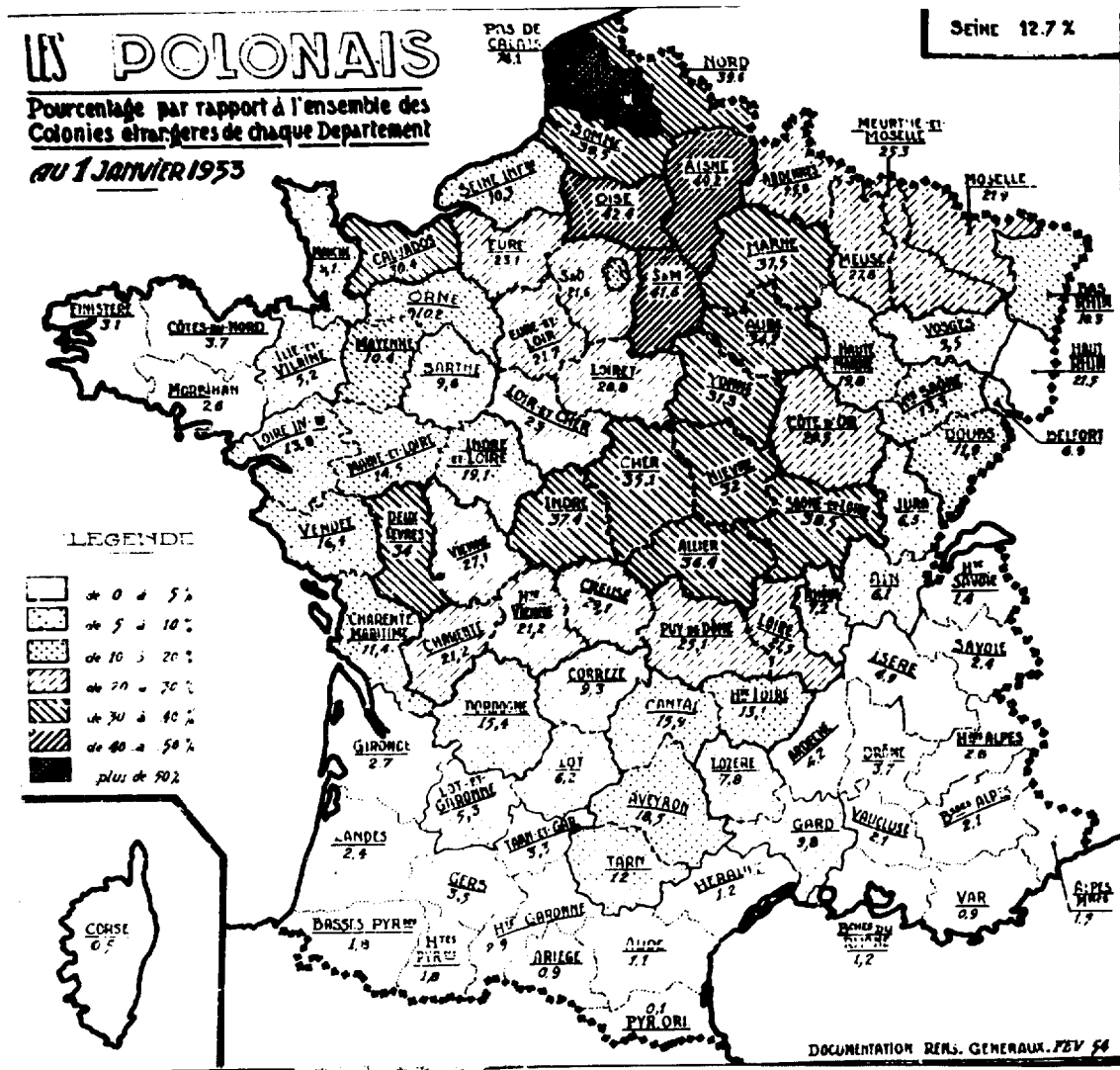
2. The second area of Polish settlement is in the Department of Moselle with its steel mills at Thionville, Hayange, Pont-a-Mousson and Wendel. Other small settlements are scattered in the areas of Mulhouse and Strasbourg.

3. The third region with Polish settlements is the coal basin of St. Etienne and Firminy in the Department of Loire, and centers of metallurgical industry at Montceau-les-Mines and Le Creusot in the Department of Saone-et-Loire.

Smaller groups of Polish emigrants live in the industrial periphery of Paris and in the agricultural region of Toulouse in the south. Paris also may be regarded as the center of the new emigration for Polish refugees and intellectuals.

CONFIDENTIAL

1. Percentage of Poles in France to Total Foreign Population in each Department. 5/

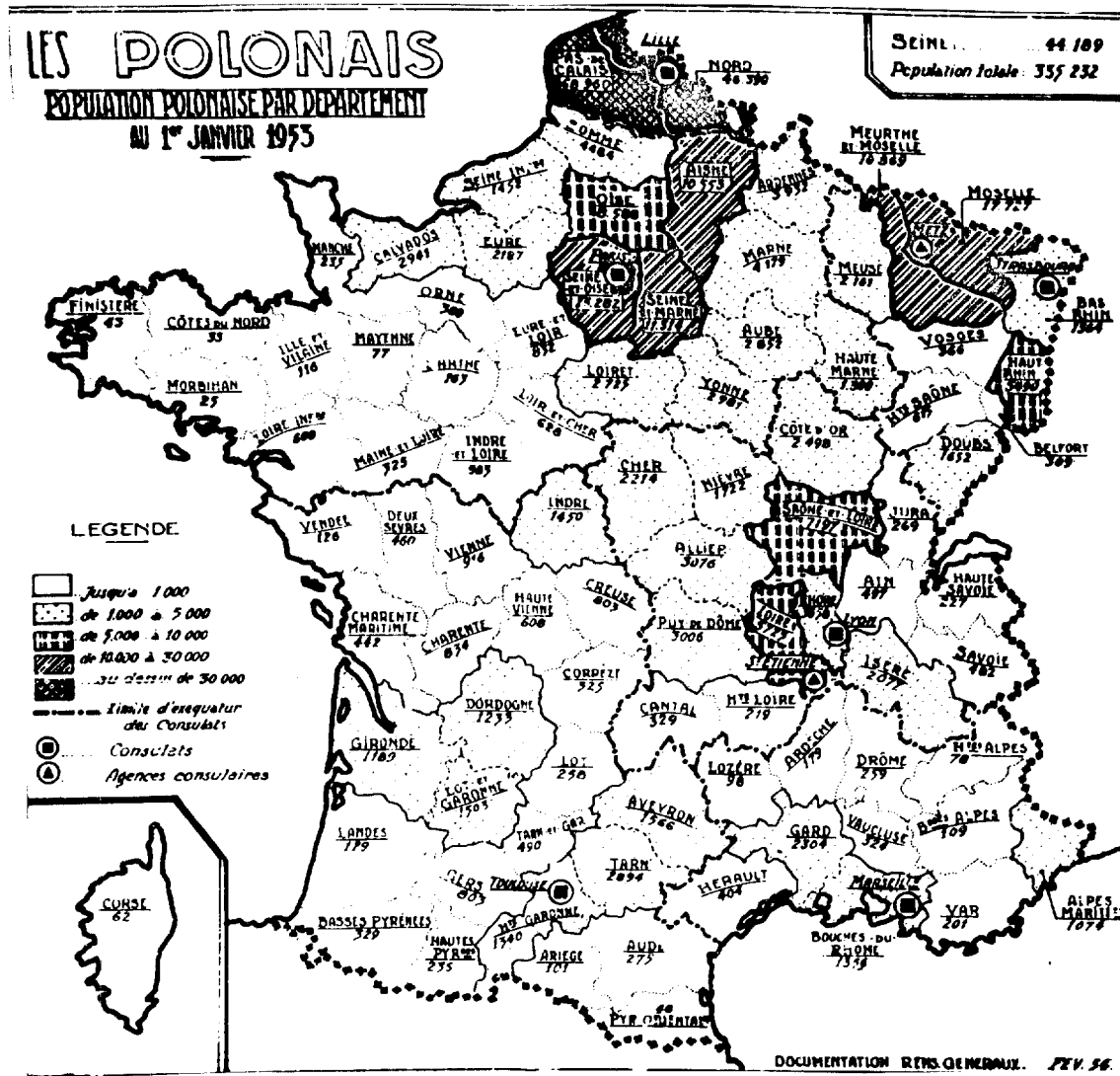


3

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

2. Location of Polish Population in France by
Departments. 6/



CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

3. Breakdown of the Polish population in France and its Percentage relationship to the total foreign population in each department. 7/

<u>Department</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Ain	497	6.1
Aisne	10,553	49.2
Allier	3,076	36.4
Alpes (Basses)	109	2.1
Alpes (Hautes)	78	2.8
Alpes (Maritimes)	1,074	1.5
Ardeche	179	4.2
Ardenne	3,932	25.8
Ariege	101	0.9
Aube	2,852	34.2
Aude	275	1.1
Aveyron	1,566	18.5
Belfort (Territoire)	309	6.9
Bouches du Rhone	1,356	1.2
Calvados	2,941	30.4
Cantal	329	15.9
Charente	834	21.2
Charente (Inferieure)	442	11.4
Cher	2,214	35.1
Correze	325	9.3
Corse	62	0.5
Cote d'Or	2,498	20.5
Cotes du Nord	33	3.7
Creuse	803	29.1
Dordogne	1,233	15.4
Doubs	1,652	11.9
Drome	259	3.7
Eure	2,187	23.1
Eure & Loir	832	21.7
Finistere	43	3.1
Gard	2,304	9.8
Garonne (Haute)	1,340	2.9
Gers	803	3.5
Gironde	1,189	2.7
Herault	404	1.2
Ille & Vilaine	116	5.2
Indre	1,450	37.4
Indre & Loire	983	19.1
Isere	2,077	4.9
Jura	269	6.3
Landes	129	2.4

CONFIDENTIAL

<u>Department</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Loir & Cher	628	23.0
Loire	5,725	21.5
Loire (Haute)	219	13.1
Loire (Inferieure)	608	13.8
Loiret	2,725	28.8
Lot	258	6.2
Lot & Garonne	1,503	5.3
Lozere	98	7.8
Maine & Loire	325	14.5
Manche	235	9.1
Marne	4,179	37.5
Marne (Haute)	1,300	19.8
Mayenne	77	10.4
Meurthe & Moselle	10,869	25.3
Meuse	2,161	27.8
Morbihan	25	2.6
Moselle	17,727	21.9
Nievre	1,722	32.0
Nord	46,390	39.6
Oise	8,588	42.4
Orne	300	10.2
Pas de Calais	68,960	74.1
Puy de Dome	3,006	25.1
Pyrenees (Basses)	329	1.8
Pyrenees (Hautes)	236	1.8
Pyrenees (Orientales)	48	0.1
Rhin (Bas)	1,364	10.3
Rhin (Haut)	5,490	21.5
Rhone	3,658	7.2
Saone (Haute)	615	13.3
Saone & Loire	7,197	38.5
Sarthe	163	9.6
Savoie	482	2.4
Savoie (Haute)	227	1.4
Seine	44,189	12.7
Seine (Inferieure)	1,452	10.3
Seine & Marne	11,314	41.6
Seine & Oise	13,282	21.6
Sevres (Deux)	460	
Somme	4,484	39.5
Tarn	2,894	12.0
Tarn & Garonne	490	3.3
Var	201	0.9
Vaucluse	324	2.1

CONFIDENTIAL

<u>Department</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Vendee	126	16.4
Vienne	916	27.1
Vienne (Haute)	608	21.2
Vosges	366	5.5
Yonne	2,981	31.3

CONFIDENTIAL

C. Composition

1. Waves of Polish Emigration*

Polish emigres, composed chiefly of Polish settlers after World War I and their descendants, may be divided into three distinct groups:

a. The first homogeneous group came to France after World War I from Westphalia, Germany. Because of poor post-war living conditions in Germany and lacking the opportunity to re-emigrate to war-ruined Poland, they accepted the invitation of the French Government to migrate to France, which needed man-power.

b. The second influx to France occurred during the first decade of Poland's independence and was caused by economic depression and growing unemployment. A reverse influx to Poland occurred in the early thirties when deteriorating economic conditions in France causing layoffs resulted in a wave of re-emigration.

c. The third migratory movement of Poles to France was political in character as the result of World War II and included demobilized soldiers of the Polish Army, former political prisoners, escapees from Poland, former prisoners of war in Germany, forced labor deported by

* A chart indicating the number of aliens in France as of August 1953 is given at the end of Section C 1.

SECRET

NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

the Nazis and other civilian refugees. Intellectuals and semi-intellectuals constitute a large part of the last emigre movement. 8/

Those emigrating in the third group as a result of World War II and referred to as "new emigrants," work in various light industries while the "old emigrants" are employed mostly in coal mines and in the coal and textile industries. The number in this third group, which comprises about 10 per cent of the "old emigration," includes some 30,000 political refugees, although of the Poles in France, only five per cent can be considered political refugees from Communist oppression. The third group is considered particularly active and dynamic.

The division between the "old" and "new" emigration is not only limited to time of arrival and settlement in Polish communities but is also reflected in the mentality, attitudes and social composition of the two groups. The "old" emigrants were by profession mostly miners. They were homogeneous, stable, highly conservative, and retained their traditions, religion and customs. New emigrants, however, form a heterogeneous social group, composed to a large extent of unmarried persons not yet stabilized in their profession and often discontented with their situation and prospects in France. It is in this latter group that the danger of Communist subversion is greatest. 9/

SECRET

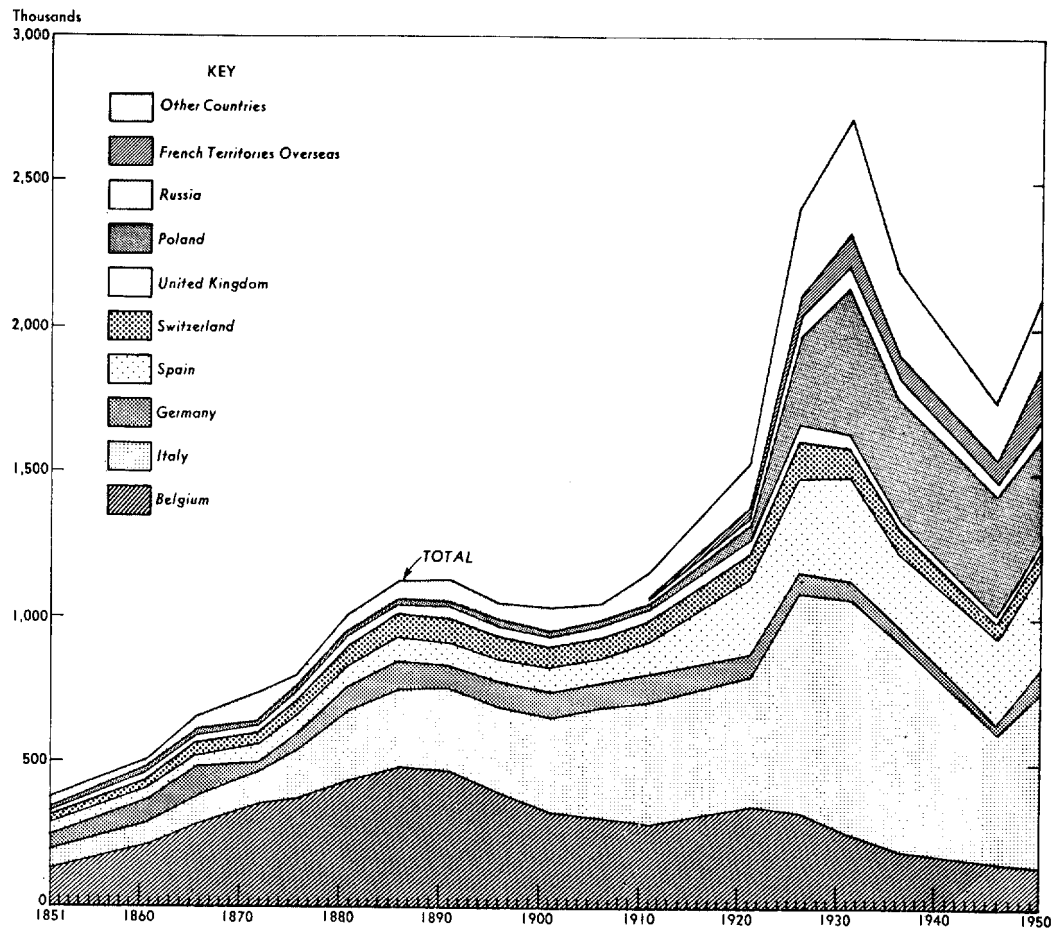
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

An indication of the composition of the Polish labor breakdown including both "old" and "new" emigration, is reflected in the 269,000 adult Poles in France reported working professionally in the following fields: 10/

Farmers and agricultural workers	91,000
Miners	79,000
Processing industry	58,000
Domestic servants	17,000
Transport	11,000
Trade	8,000
Professional people	<u>5,000</u>
	269,000

CONFIDENTIAL

ALIENS IN FRANCE INCLUDING PERSONS
FROM FRENCH OVERSEAS TERRITORIES 11/



11

CONFIDENTIAL

2. Citizenship and Naturalization

In the absence of exact statistics, it is estimated that 275,000-300,000 Poles have become French citizens through naturalization and birth in French territory. About 450,000, however, have retained Polish citizenship, which permits this group a freedom of choice in deciding whether to accept Polish Communist consular jurisdiction. 12/ It should be noted that the most active and effective Communist operatives in 1952 were those Poles who are French citizens by naturalization and thus immune to expulsion. 13/

Naturalization appears to be increasing. While formerly the assumption of French citizenship was undertaken with reluctance, naturalization by Polish emigres is now regarded as a prudent measure compatible with devotion to Poland.

Irrespective of citizenship and a high degree of assimilation, the Poles in France are reported to form a distinct cultural group, conscious of origin and extraordinarily faithful to its mother tongue, national and religious traditions. 14/

D. Political Influence and Orientation

National and naturalized Poles, who constitute about 1.7 per cent of the French population, and Frenchmen of Polish descent, who comprise about 0.7 per cent of the French population, appear on the surface to exert little influence on French life. Because, however, Poles living in France are grouped in certain regions (in some towns and cities they

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

constitute 40-50 per cent of the inhabitants) their influence is in fact considerable. Twenty Poles hold municipal posts, ten are factory workers council leaders and a son of a Polish immigrant is highly situated in the Ministry of Interior. 15/ Gaston Palewski, of Polish ancestry, was formerly Minister Delegate to the President of the Conseil in the cabinet of Edgar Faure. Furthermore, certain political and intellectual members of Polish emigres represent an important sector in French labor and have succeeded in establishing close ties with influential French in intellectual, social and political circles.

From the standpoint of labor impact and potential in France, Polish emigres are employed in strategic and sensitive industries such as mining and metallurgy. Their influence is also felt in French agriculture.

The existence of Polish emigres in France is evidence of their opposition to the present Warsaw regime. Other than an estimated 5-10 per cent Communists or fellow travelers, most of the Poles are vigorously patriotic and resolutely anti-Communist. Nevertheless, they represent a fertile target for Communist propaganda and subversion, especially those disillusioned with their present status who have little hope for the future.

II. OBJECTIVES OF WARSAW GOVERNMENT IN FRANCE

The motivation underlining Warsaw's current campaign in France can, to some extent, be explained in terms of emotional irritation over the emigre problem in general. The existence of a large number of national Poles outside Poland's borders constitutes in the eyes of Polish authorities a sort of minority problem in reverse, and since minority problems of any kind have always been a source of trouble and instability in Poland, members of the Polish elite are unlikely ever to reconcile themselves to such a status quo. One of the principal characteristics of national Polish psychology is a fixation on the ethnic distribution of population. To most Polish leaders a utopia would necessarily include a situation in which all Poles resided in Poland, all Germans in Germany and all Jews in Israel. Although few members of the Polish regime would admit it, even to themselves, many of them are irrationally fascinated by the thought of a Poland to which all Poles would return and in which no ethnic minorities would exist. As long as a large body of national Poles reside outside Poland, this problem will remain an idée fixe of the Polish authorities.*

* This attitude is reflected in the remarks made by Ambassador R. Spasowski to Mr. Murphy, Department of State, on 7 November 1955. 1/

The rational decision of the Polish Government to seek the return of Poles in France is based on several sound reasons which probably outweigh the emotional motivation. The campaign of the Warsaw regime is primarily directed toward achieving the following objectives: 2/

1. To disrupt the political exile organizations by discrediting their leadership, splitting the rank and file from its leadership and by creating dissension among exile groups. The achievement of this objective would:

a. Neutralize the exiles as a source of effective anti-Communist and anti-Warsaw propaganda; encourage mass emigre disillusionment with Western values and reduce or destroy their confidence in the Free World and its concern for their welfare;

b. Reduce emigre influence on French public opinion and on the official policy of the French Government;

c. Disarm the potential threat of the government-in-exile to the legitimacy of the Warsaw regime;

d. Reduce a potential source of support to resisters in Poland and resign the Communist-ruled to the status quo, thereby creating loss of hope for the liberation of Poland.

SECRET

NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

2. To develop a long-range political fifth column potential by exploiting interest in homeland, family ties and general national consciousness among exiles in France, and by reestablishing cultural ties between France and Poland in which the emigres would play an important role.

The long-term aim of Communist policy is to control the gradual integration of the Polish population in France. In the short-term view, the Communists elicit support of the Polish population in France for the benefit of the Polish Communist regime, the French Communist Party and Soviet policy. Thus to the Communists, a Pole who obtains French citizenship should become a member of the French Communist Party; a Pole who does not seek French citizenship should become a Polish Communist.

The Warsaw regime's approach toward Polish emigres having permanently settled in France with no intention of returning to Poland is to champion their cultural and profession interests and to call for a realignment of allegiance rather than a return to Poland. The regime attempts to persuade them to maintain their ties with Poland and their contacts with Polish diplomatic and consular missions in France.

3. To secure the return of the following professions and skills needed for general Polish welfare and specific interests of the regime:

SECRET

NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

~~SECRET~~
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

a. Scientists, because of their specialized and technical knowledge are vitally necessary in the development of Poland.

b. Former diplomats, writers, intellectuals and artists, for any intelligence information they might provide as well as for their propaganda potential.

c. Skilled labor such as miners and metal workers are vital to the achievement of Polish economic plans. Farm laborers are needed to occupy and farm the Oder-Neisse territory, which the Polish Government has been attempting to settle in the past decade.

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

III. SOME OVERT POLISH COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN FRANCE

A. Background and Development of Present Repatriation-Redefec- tion Program

In the years following the liberation of France, the Polish Government began a vigorous propaganda campaign to persuade all Poles in France to return to Poland. Official recognition of the Warsaw regime aided their campaign as well as the favorable status of all Communist enterprises in France.

Political events in 1947-48 such as the French Communist ministers being forced out of the French Government and the collapse within Poland of collaboration by Mikolajczyk with the Warsaw Government represented a change in trend. Unfavorable letters from Poland to Polish friends in France concerning conditions under the Communist system and liquidation of the repatriation bureau also contributed to a decreasing emphasis on the campaign.

From 1948 until early 1954, the organized repatriation campaign waned until the Polish diplomatic representative ordered the functionaries of the "consulates," "volunteer" workers of the Polish Red Cross and militants of the General Confederation of Labor (CGT) to resume the repatriation program. 1/ This move by the Warsaw regime conformed to the Soviet-Satellite pattern of increased interest in early 1954 in refugees of Western Europe. Two complementary elements are considered basic to

SECRET

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

Soviet-Satellite strategy in this regard: the attempt to "popularize" the regime internally and the encouragement of "coexistence" externally--both on Communist terms.

To gain good will among refugees in France, a change in propaganda emphasis occurred during 1954, when political polemics were replaced by a program of social contact and cultural development.

Two recent offers by the Warsaw regime have proved significant in developing an increasing interest in the repatriation program. The first was a speech on 23 July 1955 by Boleslaw Bierut, ex-President of the Polish Peoples Republic and present First Secretary of the Party's Central Committee, who affirmed that Poland forgave the crimes of emigre oppositionists and that they would be welcomed on their return to Poland with the aid and protection of the Government. 2/ The second was the announcement on 21 September 1955 by the Polish Government of an offer of extensive assistance to all Polish emigres wishing to return home--payment of returnees' traveling expenses, providing professional training, pensions, etc. 3/

At the present time the Polish regime is reported to be exerting its greatest effort in France, where it is spending an estimated \$8,500.00 (3 million francs) per day to incite subversion, redefection and repatriation, by using every means at its disposition, including politics, education, sports, dancing, movies, theater, art, music and literature. 4/

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

Of all the Satellites, the Warsaw Government is reportedly the most completely engaged in influencing the emigres notwithstanding the fact that Poland entered the Soviet Bloc redefection campaign later and with less acclaim than the other Satellites. 5/

B. Propaganda Appeals of the Warsaw Government 6/

To achieve maximum impact upon Polish emigres in France, the Warsaw regime stresses the following major propaganda appeals in its repatriation-redefection program:

1. Cultural heritage and national consciousness

The appeal to cultural heritage and national consciousness stresses the longing for homeland and families, and recognition and encouragement of patriotism as a natural right belonging to the Polish emigre heritage and national aspirations. This appeal also exploits emigre disillusionment and disappointment in failing to achieve security and status. The long separation from homeland and family ties makes the emigre Poles especially vulnerable to this form of propaganda. Unsuccessful Poles in France are urged to return to Poland while those who remain are assured of Communist support in their cultural and social needs. Furthermore the latter are encouraged to become naturalized citizens of France, the desired end of which, from the Warsaw Government standpoint, is the

NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

creation of a bloc of pro-Warsaw Poles who full citizenship might give them more power in promoting Communist interests in Europe.

2. Advantages of repatriation

The appeal to the advantages of repatriation stresses professional security, the guarantee of employment and the return of property. Emigres are "guaranteed" the right to practice their professions and skills. Warsaw propaganda attempts to show how miserable life in the West is and exploits the fact that many professional and skilled Poles in France are faced with vocational dislocations caused by exile. It promises them opportunities and openings in their respective professions. Training is also promised to the non-skilled to prepare them for professions or skills.

3. Post-war Changes in Poland

This appeal emphasized the "great changes" which have taken place in Poland--the mythical economic and educational advantages of life in the homeland and the extraordinary recovery from war devastation. A fervent plea is made to the emigre to return and participate in Polish reconstruction. Warsaw propaganda contrasts the present freedom and opportunity in Poland with the class stratification, struggle and feudal system of the pre-war

period. Poland is represented as a country where the former exploitation of peasants and workers by the "land-lords" has been abolished and where everyone is happily building a better future under the Communist aegis.

4. Insincerity of Free World's concern for plight of Eastern European peoples

Warsaw explains to Poles at home that they can no longer expect help from the West. Political refugees returning from the West show that resistance is in vain-- they have lost all hope of aiding outside intervention by remaining in the West, consequently all hope of liberation is illusory. Its propaganda attempts to interpret the Geneva Conference as implying Western recognition of the status quo and utilizes the theme of coexistence to persuade exiles to that effect. Further resistance to the regime is futile and refugees are urged to avail themselves of the regime's favorable provisions and return to Poland.

5. Exploitation of French and Polish fears of a reunited Germany

Warsaw propaganda attempts to enlist French support of Polish rights to the Oder-Neisse area, and suggests that a Polish-French alliance would be a corner stone of a truly peaceful Europe as a first step toward peaceful existence with the USSR. Warsaw broadcasts indirectly appeal to

~~SECRET~~
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

French sympathy by describing the happy experiences of repatriates and alleging that emigre leaders are lying about oppression in Poland. This appeal is further effected by strengthening ties between Poles at home and Poles in France, particularly the intellectuals who are influential among moulders of public opinion and policy-forming circles in France. The Polish Government, for example, has established friendship committees with naturalized Frenchmen as officers through which a coordinated program of social, cultural and propaganda events is presented at the same time to both French and Polish audiences.

C. Methods of Action

The Warsaw regime utilizes the following methods of action to achieve its objectives of repatriation, redefection and subversion of Polish emigres in France:

1. Polish Schools and Teachers in France

/For information on specific relationship between Polish schools and the Polish Embassy, see Section VIII, E, 1, below.7

The Polish Ambassador in France has emphasized the importance of Polish school teachers and schools in France, because they are a means by which the Polish Government can win over emigre youth and exploit Polish teachers for repatriation propaganda purposes. 7/

The pre-war Polish-French agreement which gave the Polish Government the right to conduct cultural and educational activities among the Polish emigrants in France was renewed on 19 February 1947. It provided for the instruction of children of Polish origin residing in France, as well as for the teaching of Polish language, literature, history and geography. 8/ Thus Poles in France are permitted to have their own teachers and extra-curricular schools. Traditionally the teachers for these schools were supplied by the Polish Government. 9/

The Lycee Polonais in Paris, under the control of the Polish Ambassador, prepares young Poles of Western Europe for Polish baccalaureate examinations. Its 150 students come primarily from Northern French mining areas and scholarships are reportedly based on the devotion of their parents to the cause of "New Popular Poland." 10/

The Polish Embassy utilized Polish teachers in its pay to resume the repatriation campaign in early 1954. Despite the fact the French Government took over the payrolls of 60 Polish teachers and replaced a number of Communist teachers, the Warsaw regime still controls a system of educational posts employing 160 teachers. 11/ Although the French educational authorities feel that the schools are no longer a dangerous source of Communist influence,

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

the Free Polish representatives state that considerable Communist influence remains and flourishes in these schools. 12/

2. The Youth Vacation Colonies

/For information on specific relationship between vacation colonies and the Polish Embassy, see Section VIII, E, 2 below. 7

The Polish Communists regard the so-called vacation colonies as an effective means of influencing Polish emigres to return to Poland and of recruiting agents for operations in France. Polish youth aged 14 to 16 of emigre parents attend vacation camps in France and Poland where Komsomol courses are taught.

The Polish Red Cross and "Embassy" teachers sponsor the organization of these vacation colonies. In 1954 the Red Cross sent 4,000-5,000 "children" to these summer camps. About one thousand youth of Polish emigre parents in France went to Poland; the remainder attended Communist-organized camps in France. Upon returning to France, some of the children who went to Poland persuaded their families to go back to Poland. 13/

In 1955 a more intensive and selective drive for enrollment concentrated on children of the most impressionable ages (11-16) and from groups considered most sus-

SECRET

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

ceptible to Communist influence. In the mining areas of Nord and Pas de Calais, there were more enrollments than in 1954. Aided by posters and tracts, "Embassy" teachers and Polish Red Cross representatives carried on the organization of this campaign. 14/

3. Pardon and Assistance to Repatriates

One of the major actions to attract repatriates in France and Western Europe were two appeals made by the Polish regime, one on 23 July 1955 and the other on 21 September 1955.

a. Pardon

In the first appeal made on 23 July 1955, Boleslaw Bierut, ex-President of Poland and present First Secretary of the Party's Central Committee, told a delegation including Poles from abroad that Polish citizens were welcome to return and that Poland generously pardoned any of these who returned now. He stated further that the Polish nation does not desire to remember the offenses and errors of the past. 15/

b. Assistance to Repatriates 16/

The second appeal--one of the most positive yet made to any Soviet Bloc emigres since the inception of the redefection campaign--was the resolution of 21 September 1955 in which the Polish Government offered extensive

SECRET

~~SECRET~~
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

assistance to all Polish emigres wishing to return home. Although relatively few Poles have been repatriated so far, this offer may attract some who lack security in the West or increase the disillusionment of others remaining abroad.

The resolution offers the following bait to potential returnees:

(1) The Polish Government will assist repatriates in paying travel expenses incurred on the return journey; furnish free food and medical aid until employment is secured; assist repatriates in procuring housing; give them one lump-sum case payment; and exempt from customs duties any possessions brought back to Poland.

(2) The government promises to provide professional training if necessary; to give full educational opportunities to young people; and to provide farmers with buildings and help them to purchase livestock, or employ them on state farms.

(3) The government commits itself to provide pensions for the aged and for invalids. Periods of employment outside Poland will be considered in computing pensions, and persons with physical disabilities arising from military service will receive pensions

~~SECRET~~

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

regardless of the state for which military service was performed. The promise to recognize service-connected disabilities as pensionable is considered by some to be almost the same as an amnesty.

(4) In addition, returnees may keep the rank they held in the Polish or Allied military units up to the end of the war with Germany.

4. Press

The Polish Communist language press aimed at Polish emigres in France originates both in Poland and in France. Redefection propaganda began to appear in the Polish Communist press in France at the end of March and early April 1955. 17/ The Polish-language Communist daily in Paris is now responsible for presenting new arguments to its readers to persuade them to return to Poland. The repatriation campaign dominated its news coverage in July and August 1955. Articles contained either official declarations, such as Poland's offer to pardon returnees, or the statements of "happy" returnees. Indirect propaganda described the "brilliant progress" of the Polish economy and the improved status of workers. 18/

5. Letters from Poland

Another method which the Warsaw regime uses to implement its repatriation program is that of personal letters,

SECRET

~~SECRET~~
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

which are mailed to Polish refugees in France inviting them to return to Poland. Some letters, written in the form of a manifesto, are sent from different Polish towns and are signed by forty persons, none of whom are Communists. Those signing are well-known pre-war university professors, writers, and prominent priests who cooperate with the regime. These letters are sent to emigre leaders, intellectuals, writers and politicians. 19/

D. Number of Repatriates

The returnees to Poland reportedly average about 30-50 each month. The number, a small fraction of the total number of Polish emigres in France, has been relatively insignificant in comparison to Communist efforts. The reasons for returning to Poland are usually personal and economic rather than political, i.e., unfavorable economic status, professional and language deficiencies, dismal prospects of emigration overseas, old age, reunion with family, and desire for land and security. No prominent individuals have redefected from France. Those who have redefected have been older people, the indigent, farm workers and ex-legionnaires. 20/ However, there is always a danger of the redefection and subversion of the "elite," a primary target of the Warsaw regime.

Even a small number of repatriates to Poland constitutes a setback for the Free World because it is of immense propa-

~~SECRET~~
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

ganda value to the Soviets, it contributes to the creation of anti-Western sentiment within Poland, and it supports Warsaw's claims that the existence of the Iron Curtain is fictitious and that new conditions prevail which enable emigres to return.

Although about 36,000 emigres returned to Poland before 1947, and about 7,000 between 1947-49, only about 100 have emigrated to Poland in each subsequent year since 1949. The figure reportedly rose to 263 during the first half of 1955, two-thirds of whom were agricultural laborers. 22/ Because of the Polish Government's intensification of its repatriation program, the total figure for 1955 will probably reach 500. No "massive" returns are envisaged. Agricultural workers and older people motivated by nostalgia for Poland are reportedly the most susceptible to repatriation, 23/ but the total number of repatriates will probably remain at this general level unless a major economic disaster befalls France. 24/

France ranks second after Belgium in the number of returnees to Poland. Sixty-five per cent of those who have returned to Poland thus far have come from Belgium. 25/

IV. TENTATIVE LISTS OF POLISH COMMUNIST ORGANIZATIONS
OPERATING IN OR AGAINST FRANCE

LIST A - Official Polish Government and Party Organizations

- I. Polska Zjednoczona Partia Robotnicza (PZPR) (Polish Communist Party) - (elements in France.)
- II. Repatriation Organizations in Poland.
 - A. Government Plenipotentiary for Repatriation Affairs.
 - B. Association for Liaison with Poles Abroad, "Polonia."
- III. Ministries and Agencies
 - A. Committee for State Security (KBP) - (directs operations in France)
 - B. Ministry of Defence
 - 1. 2nd Department of General Staff (O.II) - (elements in France).
 - 2. Main Department for Information of General Staff (GZI) - (elements in France).
 - C. Ministry of Foreign Trade - (its representatives in France).
 - D. Ministry of Education - (its representatives in the Paris Embassy).
 - E. Ministry of Health - (supports the Polish Red Cross in France).
 - F. Ministry of Foreign Affairs
 - 1. Polish Embassy - Paris
 - a. Chancery
 - b. General Division
 - (1) Financial Section
 - (2) Personnel Section

SECRET

NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

(3) Administrative Section

c. Political Division

(1) Cultural Attache

(2) Press Attache

(a) Bureau d'Informations Polonaise (BIP)

(b) Polska Agencja Prasowa (PAP)

(c) Gazeta Polska and successors - (official
Embassy news organ)

(1) Les Amid de la Gazeta Polska (sup-
pressed in 1950)

d. Affairs of Poles in France Division

(1) Education Section

(a) Polish Lycee in Paris

(b) University in Paris (located in Polish
House)

(c) University in Lille

(d) Embassy Farm at La Presle-en-Brie

(e) Polish "Gymnasium" in Paris

(f) Sunday Schools in Paris

(2) TUR - (Society of Workers Universities - Ignace
DASZYNSKI)

(a) OMTUR - (Youth Organization of TUR)

e. Commercial Department - (was responsible for commer-
cial operations of Polish Government and firms in
France)

(1) Official Polish Commercial Firms in France

(a) La Compagnie LOT - (Polish Airline)

(b) Bank "Polska Kasa Opieki" (PKO)

SECRET

NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

- (c) Transtours - (formerly Polorbis; Agence Maritime et Bureau de Voyages, Transports et Tourisme.)
- (d) SEPIC - (agency for ELEKTRIM in France.)
- (e) POLIMEX
- (f) VARIMEX
- (g) SPOLEM
- (h) Film Polski
 - (1) SIRIUS - (represents Film Polski in France.)
- (i)
 - 1. VITRAME Group - (dissolved and became LANDY FRERES.)
 - (a) VITRAME - (deals with export of all goods exported to Poland purchased under Franco-Polish Commercial Treaty.)
 - (b) SOFRAMI - (deals with good purchased in clearance of Polish credits for coal deliveries.)
 - (c) PROBUR-FRANCE - (agency for CIECH-Polish Center for Import and Export of Chemical Products.)
 - 2. LANDY FRERES (formerly VITRAME)
 - (a) La Societe FRAMEL - (associated with Landy Freres.)
 - (b) Societe pour Immobilies et Fonds de Commerce (connected with LANDY, J. M. of Landy Firm)
 - (c) PINALT - (agency of Landy Freres.)
 - (d) STGCP - (La Socete Transitoire de Gerance des Contracts Polonais; may be connected with Landy organization.)

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

(j) BOT - (Bureau de Reception et de Transport des Surplus Americains.)

(1) BOTRANS - (replaced BOT)

(k) Societe Europeene pour le Commerce et l'Industrie

(1) Societe Financiere de l'Industrie Forestiere

(m) Comptoir Forestier

(n) CETYLOSE

(o) CENTROZBYT - (connected with Polish coal industry.)

(p) CELYLOSE

(q) SEFRANPOL - (Polish Publishing House in France.)

1.

(a) Nowiny Polskie - (SEFRANPOL publication; banned January 1954.)

(b) Przegląd Polski we Francji - (La Revue Polonaise en France; SEFRANPOL publication; replaced Nowiny Polskie)

(c) Zycie Uchodzcow - (Replaced Przegląd Polski)

2.

(a) Polski Swiat - (SEFRANPOL publication, banned 19 November 1952.)

(b) Tygodnik Polakow we Francji - (SEFRANPOL publication, banned 2 June 1953)

(c) Swiat w Ilustracjach - (Le Monde Illustre; SEFRANPOL publication; successor to 2a and 2b.)

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

- (2) Other Polish Commercial Firms, Organizations and Affiliates:
 - (a) ROLIMPEX - (Polish Business Firm in Poland.)
 - (b) Grau-Bor
 - (c) NOFOR
 - (d) TEWEX
 - (e) Societe Anonyme d'Exploration Agricole
 - (f) Vendome Export-Import
 - (g) Comptoir European d'Export-Import
 - (h) ZIWA (or ZIW; entirely devoted to serving Polish firms: printing, etc.)
 - (i) Banque Commercial de l'Europe du Nord - (affiliate of PKO.)
 - (j) ZWP - (Union of Polish Savings Banks in France.)
- (3) Firms Servicing or Mentioned in Connection with Polish Firms or Organizations in France:
 - (a) Imprimeries Parisiennes Reunies - (prints papers for SEFRANPOL group and the Zycie Polskie.)
 - (b) OFIMEXPORT - (commercial agency collaborating with the USSR and the Satellites.)
 - (c) O.F.I.C.E. - (unknown status, mentioned in connection with Communist operations.)
 - (d) Publishers subsidized by PKO
 - (1) Dunod
 - (2) Masson, & Cie.
 - (3) Centre de Diffusion et de la Presse
 - (4) Les Editeurs Francais Reunies

NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

- (5) L'Humanite
- (6) Les Lettres Francaises
- (7) Krier, Jacques

f. Consulates

- (1) Paris
 - (a) Nasze Pismko (Children's publication sponsored by the consulate)
- (2) Lille
- (3) Lyons
- (4) Strasbourg
- (5) Toulon
- (6) Marseilles
- (7) Metz (consular agency under Strasbourg)
- (8) St. Etienne (consular agency under Lyon)

g. Polish House (Dom Polski)

h. Polish Book (Ksiazka Polska)

i. Union of Embassy Employees

G. Radio Stations

- 1. Radio Warsaw
- 2. Radio Kraj
 - a. Bulletin of Radio Kraj

H. Polish Red Cross, Polski Czerwony Krzyz (PCK)

- 1. Dispensary - Paris
- 2. Dispensary - Lens

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

SECRET

NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

3. Rest Home - Biarritz
4. RKL - Council of Summer Camps
5. Polish Student Summer Camps in Western Europe

SECRET

NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

LIST B - Polish Communist Front Groups and their Publications in France

I. Organizations with their Publications

- A. Parti Communist Francais (PCF) (Polish section)
 - 1. JEDNOSC - (Polish-language publication of PCF)
 - 2. PORADNIK - (ostensibly publication of PCF, actually organ of the PZPR.)
 - 3. LISTY Z WOLWOSCI - (Secret organ of Polish section of the Action Council, Central Committee, PCF)
- B. Confederation Generale du Travail (CGT) - Polish Section
 - 1. Le Sous-sol Lorraine - (CGT publication carrying articles in Polish)
 - 2. Prawo Ludu - (paper published by CGT)
 - 3. Centre des Journalistes Professionnels - (affiliated with CGT)
 - 4. Commission Administrative de la Federation Regionale du Syndicat de Mineurs du Nord et du Pas-de-Calais.
- C. Association of Protectors of the Border on the Oder and Neisse
- D. Amitie Franco-Polonaise
 - 1. Les Amis de la Juenesse Polonaise - (suppressed in 1950)
 - 2. Amitie Franco-Polonaise des Jeunes
- E. Progressive Catholic Movement
 - 1. Pax Christi
- F. Union of the Women of "Maria Konopnicka" (ZKMK) - (suppressed in 1950)
 - 1. l'Union des Femmes Francaises (Polish section)

- G. Union of War Invalids (ZIW)
 - 1. Polish Association of War Invalids
- H. Association des Combattants Polonais
- I. Aide Mutuelle Aux Militaires Polonais
- J. Armee Ouvriere Polonaise (Polska Armia Robotnicza)
- K. Unite Ouvrier (Workers' Unity; lending library.)
- L. Organization of Polish Jews (ZZP)
 - 1. Polish-Jews Communist Association at Toulouse
 - 2. Jewish Communist Youth 2^e Arrondissement
- M. Comite d'Aide et de Defense des Immigres (CADI)
 - 1. Comite Francais de la Defense des Immigres (CFDI, same as CADI)
 - 2. UNIS - (newspaper of CADI/CFDI)
- N. Union of Polish Teachers in France (ZNP) - (suppressed in 1950)
- O. Union of Polish Engineers and Technicians (ZIT)
- P. Union of Polish Cattle Breeders in France
- Q. Federation of Polish Immigrants in France
 - 1. Federation des Emigres Polonais (FEP) - (Suppressed in 1950)
- R. Union of Settlers and Agriculture Workers (ZORR)
- S. Union of Polish Youth "Grunwald" (ZMP) - (suppressed in 1950)
- T. Union of Polish Scouts and Guides (ZHP) - (suppressed in 1950)
- U. Union of Former Members of the Resistance (ZPBUR0) - (suppressed in 1950.)

NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

- V. Aid to the Homeland (OPO) - (suppressed in 1950)
 - 1. The Independence (organ published by OPO.)
- W. Polish Union of Former Members of the International Brigade in Spain
- X. Parti Socialiste Unitaire (PSU)
 - 1. USP (no information available--may be identical to PSU)
- Y. Congress of Foreign Resistants and Volunteers
- Z. Engages Volontaires et Combattants de la Resistance
- AA. Union Generale des Engages Volontaires Etrangeres (UGEVE)
 - 1. U.G.E.F.R.E. - (probably identical to UGEVE.)
- BB. Amicale des Socialistes Polonais en France
- CC. RNPF (National Council of Poles in France) - (suppressed in 1950.)
- DD. Union of Soviet Patriots in France
- EE. Polska Partia Robotnicza (PPR) - (existed officially as "Les Amis du PPR")
 - 1. Jednosc Polska (Organ published by PPR)
- FF. Central Children's Commission - (Jewish Communist organization working with Polish war orphans)
- GG. Union des Juifs pour la Resistance et l'Entraide (UJRE)
- HH. Comite pour la Solution Pacifique du Probleme Allemand - Polish section.
- II. Polish Football Union (PZPN) - (Communist wing)
- II. Communist Publications Not Identified with Specific Organizations
 - A. Nasz Dziennik
 - B. Dziennik Wychodzcy

NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

- C. Kurier Polski
- D. Glos Polski we Francji
- E. Polska I Swiat
- F. Zycie Polskie
- G. Echa Polskie (One of successors to Gazeta Polska)
- H. Naje Presse (La Presse Nouvelle) - (Jewish Communist daily subsidized by Poland)

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

V. POLISH UNITED WORKERS PARTY (PZPR) ORGANIZATION IN FRANCE 1/

The Polish United Workers Party (PZPR) has no organization in France apart from cells, organized on strictly conspiratorial lines, the membership of which is restricted to accredited Polish officials. Each cell is under the immediate direction of its secretary, elected from and by the membership of the cell itself. The cells in turn are directed by a seven-member Party Committee elected for one year by the cell secretaries and a few trusted comrades, and not by the members as a whole.

Because the Party Committee has no legal status in France and is conspiratorial in nature, it has no declared seat of operations. The identity of guiding personalities, considerations of operational convenience and the availability of respectable cover lead to the conclusion that the headquarters of the Party Committee is in the Polish Embassy in Paris.

Members of each cell know the identity of their own secretary but do not know the identity of the secretary of any of the other cells. Neither do the cell members know the members of the Party Committee.

The entire PZPR organization or operation is under the supervision and control of the PZPR Representative for France who has not been identified since early 1950.

SECRET

NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

SECRET

NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

The PZPR is composed of Polish officials only and all Party organizations and activities exist at its pleasure. Through its membership, it maintains influence over the direction and control of all political, cultural, religious, commercial, industrial and financial activities sponsored by the Polish Government concerning the Polish colony in France.

The political and propaganda operations of the Polish Embassy and Consulates in France are controlled from the Office of Foreign Affairs of the PZPR Central Committee in Poland. The direction of the propaganda program itself is specifically delegated to two departments of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs: The Department of Press and Information and the Office for Poles Abroad. 2/

SECRET

NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

VI. REPATRIATION ORGANIZATIONS IN POLAND

The Presidium of the Council of Ministers, Prezydium Rady Ministrow (PRM), the supreme ruling body of the Warsaw Government, has appointed a Government Plenipotentiary for Repatriation Affairs to coordinate the implementation of the resolution on care for repatriates returning to Poland. 1/ It reportedly has also opened a special center devoted to persuading emigres to return home. 2/

The new organization presumably directs a secret institution concerned with the repatriation campaign and known to the public as the Department of Affairs of Polonia Abroad. Situated in the building housing the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, it maintains a cover of respectability, yet it reportedly is a branch of the secret police. 3/

To implement the official program and announcements, unofficial groups have established organizations, the most important of which is the high-level Association for Liaison with Poles Abroad, "Polonia."

"Polonia" was organized in Warsaw by a group of persons representing various cultural, social, and scientific organizations and several former organizers in Polish emigre centers abroad. It was first publicized in October 1955 and is one of the latest moves in the Polish intensified repatriation campaign.

SECRET

NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

The announced objectives of the Association are to consolidate the bonds linking Poles abroad with the homeland and to strengthen the ties of "friendship and brotherhood" with the nations in which the emigrants reside. 4/

The organization has the task of maintaining contact with and aiding the repatriation of Poles abroad. It considers the issue of the Oder-Neisse frontier to be of common interest to all Poles and a strong bond between those at home and abroad. 5/

The organization's program calls for the establishment of Polish language schools throughout the emigre populations abroad and envisages the teaching of various subjects concerning the homeland, such as history, geography, culture, etc. School books and texts will be supplied from Poland and close contacts will be maintained with all existing emigre organizations. 6/

The organization of the "Polonia" comprises the following offices which have been filled by "election:"

Chairman:	Prof. Stanislaw KULCZYNSKI (Deputy Marshal of the Sejm)
Deputy Chairmen:	Hugo HANKE Prof. Tadeusz LEHR-SPLAWINSKI Dr. Zofia WASILKOWSKA Czeslaw WYCECH (former Mikolajczyk Man), Deputy
Secretary:	Dzeczpan STEC, director of the central institute for the training of educational cadres and former chairman of the National Council for Free Poles in France.

SECRET

NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

Executive:

Father Dr. Boleslaw KULAWIK, former priest, returnee from France
Dr. Prof. Andrzej BIERNACKI, member of the Medical Sciences of the Polish Academy (PAN)
Mme. Irene DOMANSKA, Deputy
Arcady FIEDLER, writer
Boleslaw GEBERT, chief editor of Voix du Travail
Dominik HORODYNSKI, Deputy, editor in chief of Dzis i Jutro
Edward KOWALSKI, general manager of Polonia
Stanislaw KOWALEWSKI, former member of the Swiatpol, returnee from Argentina
Dr. Roman KOZLOWSKI, professor
Prof. Oskar LANGE, member of the Council of State, Deputy
Czeslaw MONDRZYK, journalist, former collaborator of Narodowiec
Edmund OSMANCZYK, Deputy
Antoni SLONIMSKI, writer
Dr. Wojciech SWIETOSLAWSKI, professor

Executive Deputies:

Number of members unknown.

Audit Committee:

Number of members unknown. 7

25X1C3b1

Approved For Release 1999/09/07 : CIA-RDP78-02771R000200390001-4

Next 4 Page(s) In Document Exempt

Approved For Release 1999/09/07 : CIA-RDP78-02771R000200390001-4

VIII. POLISH EMBASSY IN FRANCE AND
AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS

The Polish Embassy in France is located at 57 rue St. Dominique and 1 rue Talleyrand, Paris. Since 1949, the importance of the Embassy as an instrument of Polish policy has been indirectly enhanced by French security police action against Polish Communist front organizations. As a reaction to known Polish Communist subversive activities in France, and in retaliation for Warsaw's actions against French representatives in Poland, the French suppressed such Polish Communist front organizations as the Aid to the Homeland (OPO), the Union of Polish Youth "Grunwald" (ZMP), and the Gazeta Polska, and restricted Polish social aid and financial activities by outlawing the school and program some other activities of the Polish Red Cross, and by harassing the Party's commercial ventures. 1/ The indirect effect of this French repression has been the transfer of some of these activities to the Embassy itself.

The Polish Embassy possesses three inherent qualities which make it indispensable to the Soviet and Polish strategy in France:

- (1) Recognized by the French Government as the official representation of Poland in France, the Embassy

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

is automatically clothed with authority and prestige which gave it a front of respectability and at the same time provide it with propaganda resources unequalled by the total efforts of Polish anti-Communist organizations.

(2) Its "respectability" and legal status provide a cover for Soviet agent operations involving those individuals who, for political or other reasons, cannot afford to deal directly or consort openly with the Soviets. 2/

(3) The popular image of the Embassy among some Polish emigres as the symbol of the "beloved homeland" makes it a powerful platform for psychological operations among and against the Poles in France.

Offensive operations of the Polish Embassy are designed to encourage and direct political and cultural activities of the pro-regime Poles and to exploit their energies and aspirations for operations against anti-regime Poles, those Poles who are politically uncommitted, and even France itself. Control of the pro-regime Poles provides the Embassy with a two-edged weapon. Propaganda disseminated by the unnaturalized group conveys the impression that its tenets are accepted by and reflect the opinions and aspirations of all Poles away from home. Propaganda distributed by the

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

naturalized Poles, on the other hand, give the impression that the tenets are acceptable to major segments of the French population. These vigorous Embassy-directed campaigns have a telling impact upon the "uncommitted" Pole, who, living in an alien land and having no desire to jeopardize his security in a foreign community, is equally impressed by the pressure of the Embassy organization and by the implied authority of its pronouncements. These Embassy campaigns, applied with equal pressure both at a high official level and on a "grass root" basis, are designed not only to influence the Polish colony and the ordinary French citizen but also to bring maximum pressure upon the stability of French politics. The potential influence on public opinion suggested by Polish pro-regime propaganda provides the Embassy with considerable leverage in dealing with individual French Deputies courting popular support. The Polish Embassy has, therefore, a capability of directing or controlling members of the French Assembly and thereby influencing French legislation according to the objectives of Moscow.

Defensive operations of the Polish Embassy are those directed against Polish anti-regime organizations and their key personalities. Operations against this sector of the emigration are carried on with all resources available to the Embassy. The primary aims are either to destroy the

SECRET

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

organizations by infiltration and subversion or to gain control and reorient their energies along lines favorable to Warsaw. Tactics of these campaigns are designed to create defection in the ranks or to destroy the personal reputations of anti-regime leaders. Their ultimate objectives are to (a) protect Poland against infiltration and subversion from the West and (b) prevent externally-induced stresses and strains within Poland. 3/

The third objective of the Embassy's operations among the Poles is the conversion of the "uncommitted" Poles to the Communist fold. It is among this great mass of the unattached, and as a rule politically faceless, that the Embassy-directed campaigns expend the most diverse effort. This is the group which is attacked by all political elements; it is examined for weakness and exploited for advantage. The aged and infirm are courted through pensions and medical care. The children and adolescents are attracted by free summer camps and expense-paid vacations in Poland. The ordinary working man is cajoled by his labor union. The intelligentsia are corralled into schools and study groups. The more virile are presented with ready-made athletic clubs and expertly-organized events. The professionals, lured into organizations and associations with impressive names, are split according to professional specializations into small groups each under Communist control. 4/

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

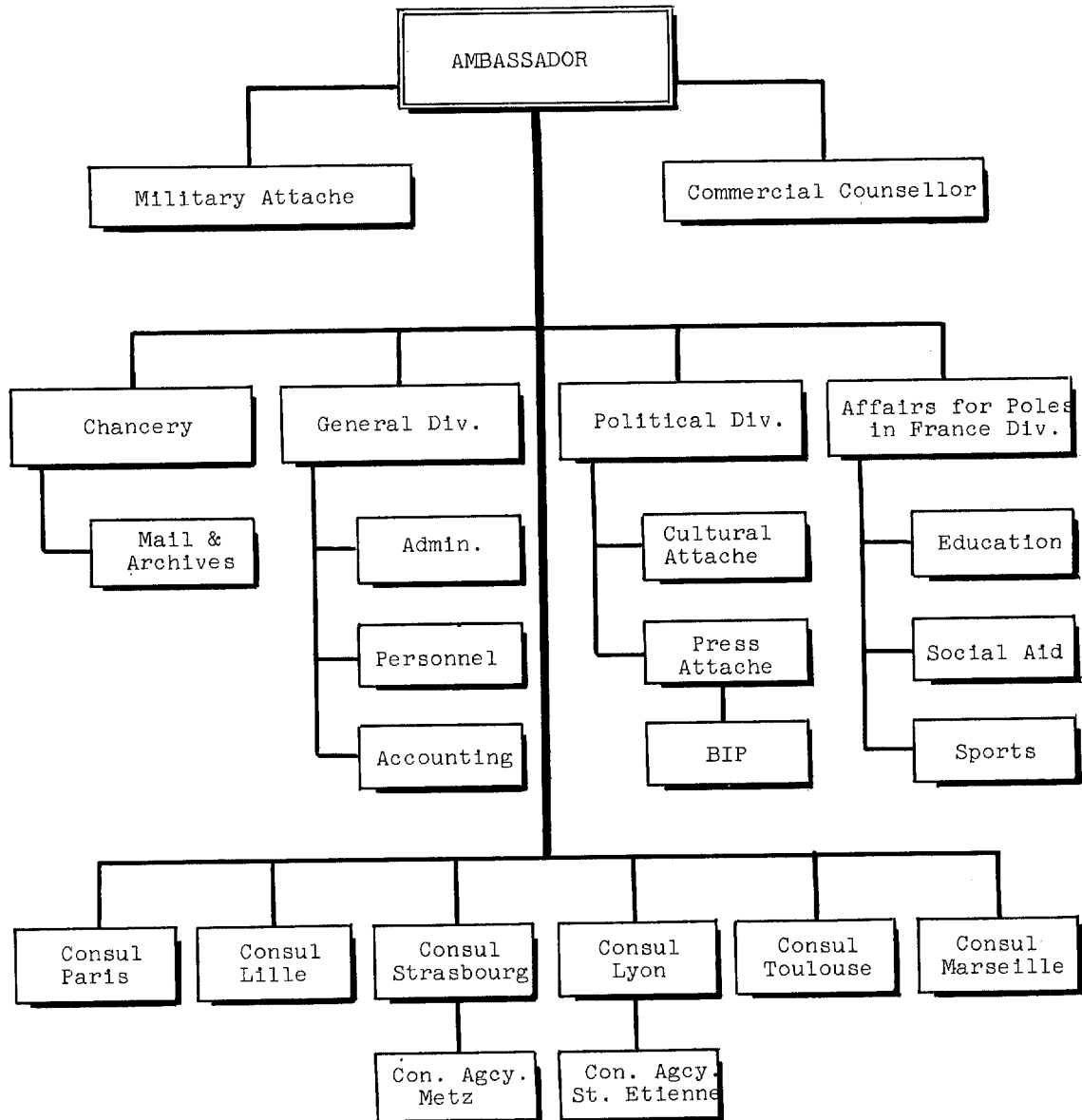
This third and by far the largest sector of the Polish colony in France--the "uncommitted" group--promises the highest political dividend to the organization, whether Communist or free, most capable of exercising public opinion leadership.

The Embassy organization is comprised of the office of the Ambassador and four operating divisions: the Chancery, General Division, Political Division, and the Division for Affairs of Poles in France. The Military Attache and the Commercial Councillor, although under the direction of the Ministries of Defense and Foreign Trade respectively are attached to the Ambassador's Office and their staffs are subordinate to the Ambassador. 5/

SECRET

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

Polish Embassy in France



SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

A. Ambassador's Office

The Ambassador has under his immediate control and direction a private secretary and a communications unit made up of a radio operator and cipher clerks. 6/

The present Ambassador, Stanislaw Gajewski, received his appointment in early 1954. A lawyer by profession, he has a long background of participation in leftist organizations. It is believed that he was never an outright Communist until he joined the Party prior to his appointment as Ambassador. Although he was the only known candidate for his present post, his appointment was held up for two years in order that his loyalty might be tested. 7/ During this period he gained experience through participation in various international conferences, including East-West negotiations when he was a member of the Polish delegation to the Neutral Repatriation Commission in Korea and an alternate representative to the UN General Assembly. 8/

Gajewski's appointment has been taken as an indication of a change in policy at the Polish Embassy from the "militant" to the "diplomatic." He has been presented as a "non-Party" official and as one who considers himself a representative of all Poles regardless of their political orientation.

SECRET

B. Chancery 9/

This division is presently headed by Edward Dziechciarek, Chief Clerk. Though it would appear that this office is concerned with only routine duties, it is, in fact, headed by one of the most trusted members of the Embassy (Dziechciarek's wife is radio operator at the Embassy).

It is divided into overt and secret sections.

(a) The overt section handles incoming and outgoing mail of an unclassified character and its distribution within the Embassy.

(b) The secret section is the personal responsibility of the Chancery chief, whose duties, though routine in nature, comprise the handling of all classified material. He is responsible for the safekeeping of all classified written matter, official stamps and official seals. All incoming diplomatic pouches are opened and their contents distributed by the chief. He personally packs, stores and sends diplomatic pouches. The security classification of material originating in any other Division of the Embassy is cleared with the chief of the Chancery.

C. General Division 10/

Mieczyslaw Gumkowski, second secretary and chief of this division, supervises the general administration of the Embassy, and is personally responsible for all accounts and funds

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

handled by Polish foreign service representatives in France. He looks after all supplies, maintenance and operation of buildings, installations, the motor pool, and the guards. The duties of this division are divided among three sections:

1. Personnel

Rogowicz (fnu), the present chief, is responsible for the personnel matters of all Polish foreign service representatives in France. He is, in fact, a direct representative of the Cadres Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Rogowicz is the internal security officer and may be a KBP agent.

2. Accounts

This section, headed by Chief Accountant Clupek (fnu), is divided into two units.

a. General Bookkeeping handles all regular expense accounting.

b. Special Funds handles all accounts dealing with payments out of the Special Fund for such items as:

(1) all expenses incurred by the Division of Affairs of Poles in France;

(2) all propaganda activity expenses;

(3) the reimbursement of staff members for expenses incurred in entertaining guests;

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

(4) financing visits to Poland of delegations and personalities invited by the Polish Government.

The Special Fund unit maintains the accounts of (1) and (2), above. Accounts of (3) and (4) are maintained by the General Division head, personally.

All payments made out of the Special Fund must be countersigned by the head of the division concerned. All requests for personal reimbursements must be countersigned by the Ambassador. Secret funds are handled by an entirely different setup about which little is known except that these accounts are being maintained by one Stanislaw Gosek.

c. Administration

This section is headed directly by the Division Chief. Its activities include inventories, physical maintenance and operation of installations, and the supervision of the motor pool, drivers, and guards.

D. Political Division

Jerzy Wiechecki, First Secretary and Division Chief, is responsible for all political matters related to the Embassy's mission in France. Assisted by the Press Attache and the Cultural Attache, he directs public relations and propaganda aimed at the French public in general and the Polish emigration in particular. There is a very close connection in the

SECRET

propaganda field between the activities of the Political Division and the Division for Affairs of Poles in France. Some of the campaigns mapped in Warsaw require in fact the concerned action of both divisions.

The Press Attache, presently Stanislaw Klos, 11/ is immediately responsible for public relations and for control and direction of press propaganda campaigns. He directs the operation of BIP (Bureau d'Informations Polonaises) and has close contact with and interest in the operations of PAP (Polish Press Agency). 12/

Prior to its suppression by French authorities in 1952, Gazeta Polska was the mouthpiece of the Embassy and the press vehicle of the PZPR in France. 13/ It was under the direct control of the Press Attache. The Press Attache now deals with the press in France through high level contacts and does not exercise the detailed direction of Communist organs as in the past.

All propaganda programs directed against France are formulated in Warsaw and are implemented by the Press Attache and the Division of Affairs for Poles in France. 14/ A close working relationship probably exists between the Press Attache and the Polish Red Cross which presently maintains direct contact with the emigration in matters of education, vacation camps, child visits to Poland, winter relief, old

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

age pensions, etc., all of which are key operations in the Communist propaganda and repatriation campaign.

Overall control of the political and propaganda activities of the Polish diplomatic missions and Consulates abroad rests with the Office of Foreign Affairs of the Central Committee/PZPR. 15/ Actual direction of propaganda in foreign countries, however, is handled by two departments of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs: Department of Press and Information and the Office for Poles Abroad. 16/

The Department of Press and Information directs and controls the activities of press and cultural officers attached to the diplomatic and cultural agencies of the Warsaw regime. It also controls the special information and propaganda centers abroad. 17/

The Office for Poles Abroad is attached to the Consular Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and deals exclusively in cultural and propaganda activities among Polish emigres. This agency works through the channels of Polish diplomatic and consular representations, but it restricts activities to those countries where there are large groups of Polish or Polish-born emigrants. In addition to direct propaganda, it is engaged in educational and cultural activities conducted in behalf of the regime. All plans elaborated by this office are intended primarily for France, where,

SECRET

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

in view of special cultural agreements with the French government, educational activities on a large scale can be conducted among Polish miners and other labor groups. In recent years the French government has somewhat limited these activities, but Polish officials can still work there more freely than in any other country. For this reason most of the instructions and plans sent to the diplomatic and consular posts abroad are based and modeled on the experiences acquired in France. 18/

1. BIP (Bureau d'Informations Polonaises), 23 rue Taitbout, Paris

This key propaganda unit, directed by Press Attache Stanislaw Klos, is charged with making known in France developments in Poland under the Warsaw regime. For this purpose, it publishes the weekly Bulletin du B.I.P. in the French language. It also seeks to have published in the French press information prepared in Warsaw concerning the political, social and economic aspects of Polish life. 19/

BIP monitors and translates into French information disseminated by the Polish radio, and transmits these translations to French journals in the hope of getting them published. By means of articles inserted in French journals, by the organization of concerts and of gala artistic fetes, it seeks to make the French public aware of Polish literature, arts and music. Feature articles concerning the situation in

SECRET

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

Poland are prepared by BIP employees and inserted in the extreme left-wing French journals. 20/

The Warsaw propaganda line transmitted to the French Press through BIP brings the emigre under a continuous flood of inducements to return to the Homeland. In convincing French, through organs not publicly identified with the interests of the Polish Embassy, the emigre is presented with vivid descriptions of the reconstruction and rehabilitation programs going on in Poland and with glowing pictures of the prosperity and contentment of the workers. Thus a strong appeal is made to his patriotism and he is warmly invited to return and become an active participant in the reconstruction of his Homeland.

The offices of BIP are used extensively as meeting places for French and other personalities who are not inclined to attend official receptions in the Embassy. 21/

2. PAP (Polska Agencja Prasowa) - Polish Press Agency,
23 rue Taitbout, Paris.

A press service similar to TASS, PAP is the successor to the prewar Polish Telegraphic Agency (PAT) which was taken over by the London Government thus making it necessary for the Warsaw regime to give it another name. Its functions are those of news gathering and transmission. 22/

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

3. News Organs 23/

Until the end of 1952, the pro-Warsaw Polish-language press consisted of two news organs: Gazeta Polska (Polish Newspaper), a daily with 22,000 subscribers, and Polska i Swiat (Poland and the World), a biweekly with 15,000 subscribers. Under the political direction of Solomon Weinberger, these organs, Gazeta Polska in particular, were an indispensable link between the Warsaw regime and the emigres in France. They followed and advertised the political, social and economic evolution of the Warsaw regime and gave impetus to all activities of emigre organizations (OPO, Polish Red Cross, schools, etc.) designed to orient the political outlook of the Poles in France.

Since the suppression of these two publications by French authorities in November 1952, there has been a steady succession of publications appearing under new names but under the same management. Over a period of time this practice has established a pattern which clearly reveals the Communist technique of circumventing French government action. The persistence--and at times ridiculousness--of this technique becomes evident when it is considered that, since January 1953, publications have been suppressed and have reappeared in the following order:

Kurier Polski (Polish Courier)
Glos Polski (Voice of Poland)

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

Tygodnik Ilustrowany Polski (Polish Illustrated Weekly)
Informator Polski (Polish Informer)
Echa Polskie (Polish Echoes)
Wychodzstwo Polskie (Polish Emigration)
Nowiny Polskie (Polish News)

In addition to the above general press operations, the Consulate in Paris administers and distributes free to Polish children Nasze Pisemko (Our Booklet), a monthly illustrated review with 3,000 subscribers. Supplementing these outlets, pages carrying articles printed in Polish are inserted in regular French Communist Party news organs for the benefit of Polish readers.

E. Division for Affairs of Poles in France

Wieslaw Gajda, as chief of the Division, 24/ is responsible for all matters concerning the Polish emigration in France and for normal diplomatic assistance to the colony. This office controls and directs all Embassy-sponsored activities connected with the emigration, which on the surface, have the appearance of being purely cultural and humanitarian in character yet in fact serve as instruments of propaganda and political action.

Promotion of the repatriation campaign is a primary concern of the Division. This program is prosecuted through front organizations, promotion of summer camps and childrens' expense-paid vacations in Poland, and through "aid" activities

SECRET

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

in association with the Polish Red Cross. Legal aspects of repatriation--visas and exit permits--are dealt with by the Consulates, while transport matters are handled by "Trans-tours."

Polish schools and vacation colonies as they are used by Warsaw to achieve its objectives in France have already been discussed in Section III.C. The specific relationship between the Embassy and Polish schools and vacation colonies will be discussed in sections on Education and Red Cross below.

1. Education

Controlled educational institutions provide the Warsaw regime with a direct instrument for contacting and converting Polish youth and for gaining indirect entree into the Polish home and family. The activities of the Embassy in the educational field as well as the activities of its organizations and schools give an indication of the importance with which this propaganda medium occupies in Warsaw's overall program. Following the French recognition of the Warsaw regime, Polish schools in France were directed by the Education Section of the Embassy under an Attache known as the School Instructor, who was usually an intelligence officer. The Instructor was assisted by six inspectors, each attached to a Consulate. Although the Polish teaching staffs were appointed by the Ministry of Education in Warsaw, the Education Section

SECRET

NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

maintained supervision over the teachers and provided for their indoctrination. 25/

In 1949, an investigation by French authorities revealed that the Polish school system, as directed by the Embassy, was being operated as an adjunct to other Polish Communist political organizations and that Zdzislaw Wojcik, who had undergone intelligence training in Warsaw in 1948, was posted to the Embassy as School Instructor with the O.II assignment of exercising political supervision over the Polish schools in France and of directing agents who operated under school cover. It was further developed that Wojcik, while an employee of the Embassy, was a member of the Aid to the Homeland Organization (OPO) and of the Union of Former Members of the Resistance (ZPBUR0). In December 1949, as a consequence of these investigations, Wojcik, his inspectors and more than a score of teachers were expelled from France by the French authorities. At the same time, the regime's educational program was further shaken by the suppression of the Union of Polish Teachers (ZNP). 26/

The Polish educational system still operates but with much less freedom than in the past. French authorities take a stronger interest in school activities and anti-Communist forces constantly demand greater alertness to the Communist danger and more careful screening of the teaching personnel

SECRET

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

by the French Government. Nevertheless, the current acceleration of Warsaw's repatriation program will probably cause its educational activities in France to increase in vigor and scope.

a. TUR (Society of Workers' Universities), 7 rue Crillon, Paris, was founded in Poland before the war by the Polish Socialist Party for the purpose of completing the education of Polish workers. Its branch in France was created in 1928 and operated until 1939. After the liberation in 1945, the Paris branch was reopened, but the association found itself in a number of difficulties. Its secretary-general, Joseph Szczerbinski was a sympathizer of the new Warsaw regime and some of the old comrades refused to recognize the refugee Government in London as the legal government of Poland. Szczerbinski created a "Commission of Coordination of TUR" which adhered to the name TUR, the patronymic "Ignace Daszynski" to differentiate it from the original organization. 27/

In February 1948 the anti-regime wing of the Polish Socialist Party reconstituted a non-Communist TUR association and added the patronymic "Antoine Zdanowski" to differentiate it from other TUR associations. This organization has its headquarters at 23 rue du 14 Juillet, Lens, Pas-de-Calais, and has dedicated itself to the reorganization

SECRET

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

of the libraries and the acquisition of books in both Polish and French. It receives financial support from the PPS in France and its principal driving personality is Joseph Wiertelak. 28/

After its penetration by the Communists, the pro-Warsaw TUR was divided into territorial Regions and local Sections. It ran a university in Paris and another in Lille together with a number of so-called "Sunday Schools." It was to be used for the education of Communist cadres which would make up a network of reliable young people operating within the Polish colony. The university located at the Polish House, rue Crillon, Paris, was the most important TUR institution engaged in this venture. 29/

Although all Polish organizations (Aid to the Homeland, "Grunwald", etc.) were responsible for training and indoctrinating their own members, it is believed that special three-month courses, probably those which began in May 1949 and reportedly were held at the Embassy Farm in La-Presle-en-Brie, were actually conducted under the auspices of TUR. Curricula of these courses included Marxist-Leninist theory, Polish history with special reference to international affairs, Polish government and its relations to Russia, and the internal situation in France. 30/

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

TUR offices were among those raided by French authorities in November 1949. Although no evidence of espionage was found, there was ample proof that TUR and other organizations "aimed at developing a mass movement for the purpose of imposing the Stalinist ideology in France, that they were in close collaboration with CGT with a view to carrying out a plan of common action, and that they were seeking to overthrow the existing government by forcible means." 31/ TUR was dissolved by French decree on 12 January 1950, at which time its president was Stanislas Michalak and its political students numbered approximately 500. 32/

The Youth Organization of TUR (OMTUR), which in 1948 had its headquarters at 23 rue Taitbout, Paris, was an organization of students and young workers. It advertised itself as publicizing the work, aims and ideology of the Polish Socialist Party (PPS), but it was in fact a pro-Warsaw organization. It was engaged chiefly in academic and library activities. 33/

b. Lycee Polonais, located at 15 rue Lamande, Paris, a Polish coeducational school, has 12 professors of which one, Stanislaw Gogluska, is the director. Although the school is officially recognized by the French Minister of National Education, who controls it through an intermediary department, the curriculum conforms to the directives of the

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

Ministry of Education of the Warsaw Government. Political history has an important place in the curriculum and lectures are given by a woman representing the Polish Embassy. 34/

The approximately 150 students have at their disposal a "foyer" installed at the Polish House where propaganda "conferences" are given by (fnu) Hopman, nee Jarceka, for the girls and by (fnu) Bayer for the boys. 35/ Teachers receive a two-year course near the Lycee. Resident students are entirely under Communist influence and, even during their school days, they are useful servants of the propaganda apparatus. Instruction in Marxist dialectics enables the students to wield a telling influence on their parents, families and associates and they often act as monitors in vacation camps. After receiving their certificates, about half of the students go to Poland for higher studies. The remaining graduates join, often clandestinely, the Polish educational system in France. 36/

A study of the Lycee account in the PKO Bank reveals, when compared with the estimated cost of maintaining the school, that the withdrawals cannot meet the costs. The subsidy of 20,000 francs per student paid by the Ambassador cannot be traced through the PKO and it is, therefore, believed that the PKO account covers only funds contributed by parents and that the other subsidies are passed hand-to-hand.

SECRET

Withdrawals from the bank are made by one Mlle Pszenica in the name of the Lycee. 37/

The Communists have been making an effort to recruit students among the children of Polish farm workers, and a study of student lists indicates that farm workers' children already make up about 10 per cent of the enrollment. 38/

2. Polish Red Cross (PCK)

After the Communists had gained control of the Polish Government, the PCK became an instrument of the Party and as such began to play an important role in the propaganda program within the Polish emigration and in subversive activities against France.

The PCK and the Embassy became closely connected through the Embassy-sponsored programs dealing with the emigration. The two have mutual interest in such activities as the summer camps in France, children's vacations in Poland, old age pensions and winter relief to the needy. As a result of this close association, the PCK became involved in the affairs of Polish political organizations and actively participated in the miners' strikes of 1948. Its actions during those strikes drew the attention of the French authorities who discovered that PCK was rendering assistance to the miners from large accumulations of undisclosed stores of food shipped in from Poland ostensibly for use in the summer camps. The

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

authorities thereupon curtailed PCK activities by closing its provincial offices. The central office in Paris, however, was permitted to remain open. 39/

PCK has now a central staff in Paris and maintains clinics in some of the large emigre centers. Although the number of its accredited personnel is small, PCK is able to mobilize, on short notice, large cadres of "volunteer workers" among the Polish emigration, who have been employed by PCK in the 1948 strikes, in the distribution of aid, and in the actual hand delivery of propaganda material. 40/ At present, PCK's main propaganda activities are the summer camps and the vacations in Poland which bring PCK in direct contact with parents, enjoy a strong propaganda appeal, and provide opportunity for indoctrination. Although the French authorities frown upon these PCK activities among children, their adverse reaction, if any, is quickly neutralized by concerted press campaigns which play up the "humanitarian" aspects of the projects.

The summer camp program 41/ is popular with the children and in general is passively accepted by the parents, who justify their attitude on the grounds that the camps are clean and well run, that they offer children a healthy outing in new and pleasant surroundings away from the unhealthy environment at home, and that children learn the songs, folk dances, history, geography and language of Poland. They

SECRET

NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

believe that the time spent in camps is too short to communize the children, although the entire teaching program has been imbued with Marxian doctrine. Priced at 3,000 francs for a three-week vacation, payable on easy and convenient terms, the PCK camps have been free of serious competition. Free Polish elements in France have been unable to cope with the problem because of lack of contributions and financial support.

Polish Red Cross, generally believed to be a charitable organization by virtue of its name, conducts its summer camp program under camouflage of respectability and is generally not suspected of political motivation. Recruitment is carried on by PCK "volunteer workers," political instructors maintained and paid by the Consulates, and by French front organizations.

In the past, in order to impress large numbers of emigres, any child who applied for admission was accepted, regardless of nationality. In 1955, however, a new policy was adopted whereby those children who had not been to camp were given priority, and children of parents "neutral" and "hostile" to the regime were sought. Because of the large number of applications the leaders have had little difficulty in making their selections.

SECRET

NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

The camps, their location, their physical property, and their administration receive the most careful attention in order not to arouse unfavorable reaction on the part of the French authorities, who, on the whole, look with disfavor on foreign activities among the youth. The camp sites use rented property and lie in areas distant from children's homes (at times even in departments without Polish population) in order to prevent parents from visiting the camps, to leave the operators in complete and uninterrupted control of the children, and to avoid suspicion of "Red" connections by the local populace. Every effort is made to impress the local civic leaders, the clergy and the French in general by the orderly administration of the camps, the discipline, the politeness and the regular attendance at local churches.

The camp administration is so planned that no excuses can arise for French Government intervention. The camp director is generally a school teacher and a political "neutral." The business manager is also untainted, but it is dependent upon the PCK, which controls the money. Each camp director has a "collaborator" concerned with the camp program. The "collaborators" are political instructors or inspectors sent to observe and "advise" the camp directors. The camp personnel are recruited among school teachers and active members of Polish Communist organizations.

SECRET

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

The success of the PCK summer camp program is indicated by the fact that 1,000 children were sent to Poland and 2,000-4,000 attended camps in France in 1954.

The subsidies which the PCK receives from Poland through the Embassy and the Consulates are supplemented by contributions collected locally in France. Total PCK expenditures are not definitely known but piece-meal accounts throw some light on their magnitude. In 1952, for instance, the PCK was spending 100 million francs annually on its vacations-in-Poland project alone. Of this sum, 800,000 francs were donated by Polish emigres in France, 18 million francs were made available by the Consulate General in Paris, and the remainder (spent in Poland to finance the visits) was provided by various Polish government agencies through the PCK headquarters in Warsaw. 42/ To support its winter relief fund, the PCK has been collecting approximately 600,000 francs annually from the Polish emigres and has obtained an additional 6 million francs through the Consulate General in Paris. 43/

The following individuals have been identified as key PCK personalities: 44/

Headquarters:

Director:

Mme. Anastazja Sieff

SECRET

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

Social Assistants: Boleslaw Zelechowski
Mme. Edwarda Szrajerowa
Mikolaj Bacholnik (for the sick)
Mme. Marguerite Gonnet

Cashier & Bookkeeper: Mme. Renee Tartakowska

(Temporary) Secretary
to the Director: Mme. Kazimiera Szramska

Office Man & Chauffeur: Stanislaw Cierlicki

Vacation Schools in Service:

Chief: Mme. Pola Duffau

Secretary: Mme. Mirea Pszenica

Accountant: de Neyman (Consulate employee-
part time)

Staff members: Mme. Ludwika
Mme. Gliksztein
Szramski (Temporary)

Dispensary, rue Crillon, Paris:

Director: Dr. Jokiel

Administrative
Director: Dr. Henryk Russak (in the con-
fidence of the Embassy)

Physicians: Jozef Fuzwerk
Samuel Danowski
Morek Folek
Szyja Szajnfeld
David Czamarka
Piotr Grynberg
Leon Perel

Dentist: Sylvia Bratman

Nurses: Hanna Fautanzzo
Krystyna Libermann
Aniela Ziemba
Helena Abramczyk

Social Assistant: Eugenia Swiecicka

NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

Dispensary, Lens (P.de.C.):

Physician:	Couck
Assistants:	Mme. Jadwiga Mowszowicz Mlle. Maria Brodzinska
Delegate of the PCK Headquarters:	Marianna Dudzinska (very active in vacation schools)

Maison de Biarritz:

Director:	Mme. Pola Bergue
Secretary:	Mme. Birau

5 other persons who look after about 43 children.

Drs. Jokiell, Russak and Czamarka, Mr. Cierlicki, and Miss Ziemba have received decorations for services rendered to the PCK.

F. Military Attache 45/

The present Military Attache is Col. Dominik Pietrowski; Capt. Adam Rozowicz is Assistant Military Attache for Air. There is very little official connection between the Military Attache and the Embassy although the Attaches are nominally subordinated to the Ambassador. They receive their salaries through Embassy channels and, having no communication facilities, use the Embassy radio and diplomatic pouch.

Reference to intelligence activities of the Military Attache already have been made in Section VII.

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

G. Commercial Counsellor

The present Commercial Counsellor is Michael Ruzycki. His seven staff members are in fact employees of the Ministry of Foreign Trade. The commercial department, although under the Ministry of Foreign Trade, is nominally subordinate to the Ambassador and uses the facilities of the Embassy. 46/ The department is responsible for representing the interests of commercial firms in Poland and Polish commercial agencies in France.

This department has always played an important role in the operations of the Polish government and the party in France. The department has been used for other than commercial purposes in the past and is presumed to be so used at present.

Notable instances of such usage date back from 1946 when Jozef Kutin, presently an Undersecretary in the Ministry for Internal Trade in Warsaw, then a representative of the Central Technical Council in Warsaw, was assigned to this department (The Technical Council was established in Warsaw for the purpose of purchasing surplus war material). Kutin, was a personal friend of (fnu) Komar, who was a key figure in the Polish Intelligence and who is reported to have controlled a chain of commercial firms abroad as cover for intelligence nets and as a source of revenue. Kutin took over from the Commercial Attache the direction of all privately-owned Polish commercial firms and proceeded to organize a network of firms

SECRET

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

which, although registered as French, were actually owned and financed by the Warsaw Government and staffed by persons in the confidence of the Embassy. Their purpose was to raise funds for the party in France and to serve as a bonding agent among the various social, business and cultural groups of the emigration. Kutin's activities were later conducted independently within the commercial department and, considering the ties between Kutin and Komar, probably included intelligence. 47/

When the Central Technical Council was liquidated in 1948, Kutin returned to Poland and all the commercial activities were once more unified under the commercial counsellor. 48/

In autumn 1947, a new scheme was initiated in Warsaw for acquiring Party funds in the Free World by creating a new section for Foreign Trade in the Economic Department of the Party Central Committee headed by Daniel Kraus. 49/

Under Kraus, "private" import-export firms were set up in France and other countries and became known as the "Kraus Organization." Most of the firms acquired by the Party had been bona fide private firms and, whenever possible, the original non-Communist owners or managers were retained as "fronts." By 1948 the management became parallel as follows:

- (a) The real but secret head was always a trusted Communist appointed by Kraus on the recommendation of the PZPR.

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

(b) The officially registered "managers" or "partners" were never members of the Communist Party and whenever possible were the original owners or managers. They acted only as "fronts" or commercial managers. 50/

Supervision of the "Direct Kraus Firms" in France was effected through local supervisors appointed by Kraus. These were Polish Communists who used diplomatic cover. Liaison with the PZPR was carried on by travel back and forth either by Kraus or the French "fronts." 51/

The VITRAME group was the most successful of the Kraus firms in France. It was managed by two Landy brothers and was supported in 1948 by Jozef Kutin, the commercial attache.

After 1949, when direct Party connection with the firms was being severed, control of Kraus agents was shifted to those commercial attaches or counsellors who were "secret Kraus supervisors" in the country to which they were accredited. 52/

The Kraus firms worked on a commission basis and acted only as "middlemen" between foreign buyers and sellers and Polish Government trade agencies. The firms collected commissions from the government and from the foreign merchants. In some cases only part of the commission paid to the Communist Party firm was declared to the French Treasury, and the "unofficial" (suppressed) portion (25% to 75% of the entire

SECRET

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

commission) was either kept in trust by the foreign merchant as a "private fund" for a Polish Communist Party agent or was immediately handed to the firm manager who transmitted it directly to Kraus through Embassy channels. Sometimes the firm would declare the entire amount to the French Treasury in order to maintain its reputation in the eyes of the Polish Treasury which was unwitting of this Polish Communist Party operation. On other occasions, none of the commission would be declared or transmitted to Warsaw but would be diverted to the purchase of goods, which would then be sold through a similar firm in another country, with the undeclared profits finding their way back to the Party in Poland. 53/

As the Communist Party gained complete control of the government, there was no further need to conceal from the Polish Government the Communist Party membership of the managers. From 1948 to 1950 the non-Communist "managers" began to disappear and the secret Communist managers began to be officially registered. With the disappearance of the non-Communist "managers" in France, where Kraus had managed firms personally, new Communist Party "private" firms were established and allowed to work along side and in competition with the "Direct Kraus Firms."

By late 1949, Kraus' deputies had been transferred to the Ministry of Foreign Trade in order to disconnect the Kraus

SECRET

firms from the Communist Party and to subordinate them fully to the Ministry of Foreign Trade. Nevertheless, through persuasion, Kraus gained permission for his firms to continue to function, but nominally under the Ministry of Foreign Trade. However, numerous "resignations" and defections weakened the entire program and the Party gradually ceased to take direct interest. It is believed that the firms will either be liquidated or completely taken over by the regular government foreign trade organization. On the other hand, there is, at present, a tendency to return the commercial firms to French ownership and retain Party control through reliable Communist directors. 54/

1. Firms Under Direct Control of the Commercial Department 55/

a. VITRAME Group

The VITRAME group was the most successful of the "Kraus Organizations" before its subordination to the Embassy. Kutin had always manifested an interest in their operations and had supported their activities. Although activities of the VITRAME group have now been taken over by Landy Freres, the groups had always been operated by Landy brothers. A review of their activities is of interest:

(1) VITRAME, 68 rue Pierre Charrou, Paris, was founded in 1939 and reconstituted in February 1948 with a capital of 550,000 francs. Its leading personalities were Jakub Aronovitch (expelled from France in November

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

1949) and Jean-Maurice and Charles Landy. It dealt in all goods exported to Poland under Franco-Polish trade treaties.

(2) SOFRAMI, 24 rue Marboeuf, Paris, was founded in October 1947 with a capital of 500,000 francs and had the same management as VITRAME. It dealt with goods purchased in clearance of credits accruing to Poland in return for delivery of coal.

(3) PROBUR-FRANCE, 152 Boulevard Haussmann, Paris, was directed by Gilbert Hamburger who had connections with the management of VITRAME and VENDOME IMPORT AND EXPORT. PROBUR-FRANCE is the French agency of the Polish Centre for the Import and Export of Chemical Products (CIECH).

b. BOTRANS, 28 rue Bouery, Paris, was founded in April 1947 as a private company with a capital of 3,000,000 francs. It replaced BOT (Bureau de Reception et de Transport des Surplus Americains). BOTRANS was under the nominal management of Louis Skoczylas, but was actually controlled by Tadeuz Oppmann. Later BOTRANS was gradually transferred to private status. Early in 1948, French authorities discovered that BOTRANS was being used to smuggle arms and personnel out of France, and Oppmann was put under close surveillance through his French citizenship required that any action against him be substantiated in a court of law.

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

SECRET

NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

BOTRANS was favored with a virtual monopoly in the transport of goods purchased by the Polish Government. Any export firm engaged in transport of such goods had to obtain the endorsement of BOTRANS before it could obtain payment of its account by the PKO Bank.

c. Societe Europeenne pour le Commerce et l'Industrie, 78 Ave Raymond Poincare, Paris, was one of the firms formerly controlled by Kutin. One of its key members was Edward Mazrycer, the brother of Press Attache Wiktor Mencil. David Jallex, aka Albert Gaston Igoine, a member of the PCF and the former deputy Chef du Cabinet to the Communist Charles Tillon during the latter's tenure at the Ministry of Reconstruction and at the Air Ministry, was a partner in the firm until his dismissal for embezzlement in October 1948. Jallex was also manager of SEPIC, a firm through which the Polish trust, ELEKTRIM, purchased electrical equipment. After his dismissal, Jallex became a co-manager of SARL (Societe pour l'Equipment des Industries de Batiment et des Travaux Publics).

d. Societe Financiere de l'Industrie Forestiere, 10 rue St. Marc, Paris, had as a principal partner, Jakub Aronovitch who, prior to his expulsion from France, was the manager of SOFRAMI, the middle-man between Kutin and the various firms controlled by Kutin, and on the boards of others.

SECRET

NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

e. Comptoir Forestier, 78 Avenue Raymond Poincare, Paris, was run by the Tchudnovski family. The father, Auguste, and at least two of the sons were born in Russia though they were citizens of Lichtenstein. Andre Tchudnovski, born in Leningrad in 1924, was the commercial manager and was connected with Societe Europeenne pour la Commerce et l'Industrie and with CETYLOSE.

f. CETYLOSE, 152 Boulevard Haussemann, Paris, was directed by Eugen Cuchevitch, a naturalized French citizen of Russian origin and by Andre Tchudnovski, who was the commercial manager of Comptoir Forestier and was connected with Societe Europeenne pour la Commerce et l'Industrie.

2. Firms Under Indirect Control of the Commercial Department

a. TRANSTOURS - (Agence Maritime et Bureau de Voyages - Transports et Tourisme; formerly POLORBIS) 56/

TRANSTOURS is ostensibly a normal French firm dealing with travel between France to Poland. Founded in 1946 and originally known as POLORBIS, it was controlled by the official government travel agency ORBIS in Warsaw. 57/ TRANSTOURS is presently capitalized at 1,050,000 francs divided into 1,050 shares of 1,000 francs each. These shares are owned by PZPR members in Poland and in France. The stock is divided as follows:

950 - Jozef Krakowski - Director-general of ORBIS in Warsaw. Represents the Polish Government in TRANSTOURS.

SECRET

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

- 30 - Tadeusz Oppmann - Frenchman. Member of the PCF.
- 20 - Robert Frindel - Frenchman. Member of the PCF.
- 20 - Roger Judic - Frenchman. Member of the PCF.
- 10 - Paul Chambaz - Frenchman. Probably Pierre Chambaz, who works in the UFI (Union Francaise d'Information) an agency under PCF control.
- 10 - Jacques Direz - Frenchman. Member of a municipal council; PCF member, believed to be a cell secretary.
- 10 - Alfred Soria - Frenchman. Member of a municipal council; active PCF member.

TRANSTOURS handles travel matters incident to the repatriation of Polish emigres to Poland and group tours of children visiting Poland in connection with the "vacation in the Homeland" program.

Its organization structure has been described as follows: 58/

Director:	Tadeuz Oppmann
Deputy Director:	Zbigniew Kozianski
Ticket Office:	Roger Judic, chief; 3 employees
Maritime Service:	Rodrique Dzialowski, chief; 2 employees
Freight Service:	Victor Niemiec, chief; 2 employees

SECRET

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

Accounting: Jean Matien, chief;
2 employees

Repatriation Service: Georges Goldman, chief;
2 employees

Miscellaneous: 5 employees.

b. Bank PKO, 23 Taitbout, Paris 59/

This organization was established before the war as an independent concern, though it was actually a subsidiary of the Warsaw Post Office Savings Bank (Pocztowa Kasa Oszczednosci - PKO). Branches were established in the main centers of Polish emigration (France, Argentina, USA, etc.) to provide assistance in the form of credits and the like. These branches changed the name PKO to mean Polska Kasa Opieki (Polish Relief Bank).

The Warsaw regime took over the PKO branch in Paris after the liberation and gradually changed it into an Embassy-controlled institution. PKO maintained close relations with the Banque Commercial de l'Europe du Nord, which was owned by the Soviet State Bank (Gosbank) and the Moscow Bank (Mosbank) and acted as a banker for the French Communist Party (PCF) and its organizations. PKO frequently placed credits at the disposal of the Banque Commerciale.

PKO was the instrument used in financing Polish Government-owned firms in France and handled credits of these concerns during their operation. In some cases it actually

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

owned controlling shares in these concerns. The firm now acts as the disbursing office of funds forwarded by Warsaw to the Polish Government representations and firms in France, such as the Embassy, the Consulates, PAP, LOT, and the Polish Red Cross. Government expenses incurred in the field of publications are also paid out through this bank. 60/

In November 1953, key personnel were reported to be as follows: 61/

Director:	Leon Berent (naturalized French citizen of Polish-Jewish origin)
Assistant Director:	Zygmunt Szwedowski (holds power of attorney)
Bills of Exchange:	Henri Gui Zygmunt Lisowski
Cashier:	Stanislaw Szubert
Deposits:	Bernascon (fnu)
Welfare Parcel Transfers:	Marion Baranski Eustachy Dusznicki
Accounting:	Witold Rukujzio

PKO's 40 employees in 1947 were reduced to sixteen by November 1953. There have been indications that the Embassy is now inclined to return the Bank to actual French ownership and control. The bank would, however, remain in the control of PCF members.

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

H. Consulates

The Polish Consulates in France are generally located in the principal emigre and industrial centers. There are consulates or consulate agencies in Paris, Lille, Strasbourg, Metz, Lyon, St. Etienne, Toulouse and Marseille. These offices, supported by sections of the Embassy, are, in fact, the provincial contacts of the Warsaw regime with the Polish population in France. In addition to ministering to the normal diplomatic needs of the emigre colonies, the Consulates engage in propaganda campaigns and carry out Communist Party programs under the cover of "humanitarian" activities.

The Consulates play an important role in the activities of the Polish Red Cross and since 1949, when French police raids closed PCK provincial offices, have been the bases from which PCK workers operate among the Polish emigres. 62/ The Consulates subsidize the activities of the PCK and have at their disposal paid "political instructors" who, in concert with the PCK, act as contact agents in recruitment and propaganda drives. 63/

The present repatriation campaign, although pitched on an international level, eventually resolves itself into actual person-to-person contact, which is the responsibility of diplomatic and consular personnel. Depending upon the importance of the individual, the consul-general may himself make a call,

SECRET

SECRET

NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

visit, or tender an invitation to an emigre. These visits and personal contacts not only afford the consul opportunities of making a direct repatriation "pitch" to highly-placed emigres, but afford him, in case of failure, the opportunity of throwing suspicion on these emigres, thereby weakening their position of leadership in the eyes of anti-regime Poles. 64/

The consulates at present also play a key role in Warsaw's educational program. After its recognition by the Allies, the Warsaw Government took over control of all Polish schools with some 150 Polish teachers in France. New rules and methods were prescribed by Warsaw and teachers were replaced by political agitators under the direction of School Inspectors stationed in the Consulates. French expulsions and cancellations of teaching licenses later caused some Communists to teach clandestinely in homes and rented rooms, and the consulates are still permitted to name some of the monitors of recognized Polish courses. French abolition of these courses is not likely to remedy the situation, since the consulates employ some 250 clandestine monitors with salaries varying between 20,000 and 40,000 francs per month in addition to allowances for propaganda expenses.

SECRET

NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

Territorial Jurisdictions 65/

Paris

Headquarters: 31 rue Jean Goujon, Paris

Territorial
Jurisdiction: Seine, Seine & Oise, Seine & Marne, Marne
Haute Marne, Aube, Ardennes, Aisne, Somme,
Oise, Seine Inferieure, Eure, Orne, Calvados,
Manche, Cotes du Nord, Finistere, Morbihan,
Ille & Vilaine, Mayenne, Loire Inferieure,
Maine & Loire, Sarthe, Indre & Loire,
Loir & Cher, Eure & Loir, Loiret, Yonne
(121,327 jurisdictional Poles)

Consul: Casimir Dybilas

Lille

Headquarters: 45 Bd Carnot, Lille

Territorial
Jurisdiction: Nord and Pas de Calais (115,350 juris-
dictional Poles). This is the most impor-
tant Polish Consulate in France with a
large number of employees and a post of
Vice-Consul.

Consul: Rudolf Larysz

Vice-Consul: Joseph Polak

Strasbourg

Headquarters: 10 rue du General Castelnau, Strasbourg

Territorial
Jurisdiction: Bas Rhin, Haut Rhin, Territoire de Bel-
fort, Doubs, Haute Saone, Vosges, Meuse,
Meurthe & Moselle, Moselle (40,553 juris-
dictional Poles).

Consul: Stanislas Heresztyn

SECRET

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

Metz

Headquarters: 18 rue des Augustine, Metz

(The Consular Agency of Metz functions under the Consulate of Strasbourg.)

Territorial
Jurisdiction: Meuse, Meurthe & Moselle, Moselle
(30,757 jurisdictional Poles).

Consular Agent: Marian Wirski

Lyon

Headquarters: 6 Quai du General Sarraill, Lyon

Territorial
Jurisdiction: Rhone, Isere, Savoie, Hte Savoie, Ain, Jura, Cote d'Or, Saone & Loire, Nièvre, Cher, Allier, Puy de Dome, Cantal, Hte Loire, Loire (33,196 jurisdictional Poles).

Consul: Jean Dorosz

Saint-Etienne

Headquarters: 31 rue du General de Gaulle, St. Etienne

(This Consular Agency functions under the Consulate of Lyon)

Territorial
Jurisdiction: Loire (5,725 jurisdictional Poles).

Consular Agent: An employee of the Lyon Consulate spends two days per week at this office.

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

Toulouse

Headquarters: 10 rue Ninan, Toulouse

Territorial
Jurisdiction: Hte Garonne, Ariège, Pyrenees Orientales, Aude, Tarn, Aveyron, Tarn & Garonne, Lot, Correze, Creuse, Indre, Hte Vienne, Vienne, Deux Sevres, Vendee, Charente Maritime, Charente Maritime, Charente, Dordogne, Gironde, Lot & Garonne, Landes, Basses Pyrenees, Htes Pyrenees, Gers (18,358 jurisdictional Poles).

Consul General: Kazimierz Fryda (former attache at the Embassy; also supervises the Consulate of Marseille).

Assistant: Franciszek Frasz

Marseille

Headquarters: 2 Place Felix Barret, Marseille

Territorial
Jurisdiction: Bouches du Rhone, Corse, Vaucluse, Var, Alpes Maritimes, Basses Alpes, Htes Alpes, Drome, Ardeche, Lozere, Gard, Herault (6,488 jurisdictional Poles).

Vice-Consul: Joseph Skrzyniarz (supervised by Consul General Kazimierz Fryda)

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

IX. PROGRESSIVE CATHOLIC MOVEMENT

A. Background of Progressive Catholic Movement in Poland

In its program to Communize the country, the Polish Communist regime has from the very beginning of the post-war period faced the apparently unbridgeable gap between the Communist ideology and the Catholic dogma. The imposition of Communist thinking, the elimination of Catholic traditions and the subjugation of the Church have been virtually impossible in Poland where the population after the war has been more than ever proportionately Catholic and where the bond with the Vatican has always been unusually powerful.

The Warsaw regime has had to rely, therefore, on subtle persuasion rather than direct means to achieve its objectives. It has had to show to both the Church and the laity that the differences between the Church and the regime are not irreconcilable and that cooperation between the two is not only possible but essential in the interest of the country as a whole. To represent this viewpoint, the Polish regime has chosen a man least identified with the Communist ideology, a former head of the pre-war extreme right-wing, fascist-like organization (National Radical Camp, Oboz Narodowo Radykalny, ONR-Falanga)--Boleslaw Piasecki.

Piasecki, who fought the Communists in Poland and was a Soviet prisoner during the War, agreed to work with the

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

regime for the purpose of subverting the Church, and proposed the creation of a "progressive" Catholic movement which would enable the Church to "get along" with the Government. A defeated politician with a Machiavellian respect for power, Piasecki was motivated partly by opportunism and partly by the conviction that the survival of the Church and the intelligentsia depended on the integration, if not of the Church as such, at least of the Catholic masses, into the new economic and social process, leaving the spiritual aspects intact. He argued that the Polish regime must not alienate nor cause the militant opposition of the vast majority of the Polish population by a direct assault on the Church. To the regime, he offered the Church's cooperation or at least the non-hostility of the Catholic masses; to the Catholics (especially the intelligentsia), he offered an opportunity for adaptation to the new system and the promise that violence would not be used against them. The regime's political methods did not humble a man of his totalitarian orientation.

Piasecki's front man in the early post-war years was Alexander Bochenski. The Warsaw Government fostered the movement as a subtle means of nullifying the Church's influence and its opposition to the regime, as well as to exploit the Church for its own ends. It elicited and received support from a number of Catholic priests and active laymen, who

SECRET

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

felt that political cooperation with the regime was a means of preserving the Church in peaceful coexistence with the Government. Although this movement was intrinsically alien to traditional Catholic thought and the many Catholic priests, laymen and intellectuals participating in the movement were only a small minority of the Polish Catholics, the intellectuals in the movement included prominent Catholic writers and university professors whose names were well-known in the pre-war Poland. Expediency has been a motivating factor in their cooperation with the regime.

Until October 1953, the movement had not developed any single form of organization. There were several lay and clerical groups, commissions and committees in addition to the Piasecki group, which was known as "Dzis i Jutro" (Today and Tomorrow)--the name of its weekly publication.

When the "Dzis i Jutro" group formed the Pax Publishing Company (which, in addition to the Dzis i Jutro, has been publishing the weekly Tygodnik Powszechny), 8/ it adopted the name "Socially Progressive Catholics" and assumed the intellectual leadership of the movement; one of its key personalities has been Dominik Horodyski, who has traveled frequently to France. 9/ Caritas, a philanthropic organization which the Warsaw regime had seized from the Church, was placed under the Piasecki group.

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

Since 1953 all progressive Catholic activities have been conducted under the overall auspices of the Commission of Clergymen and Lay Catholic Workers, an organization which expresses the unity of the so-called Progressive Catholic Movement. The Commission, as presently organized, is a monolithic organization under the aegis of the Piasecki group. However, the Warsaw regime actually controls the Commission through Department V of the Ministry of Public Security, whose mission is the control of all legal political organizations, excepting the PZPR.

The Polish Government utilizes the Commission as an agency to assist it in propagandizing its economic and political programs at home and abroad, particularly its views on retention of the Oder-Neisse territories, in criticizing Vatican policies, and in attempting to redefect selected emigres abroad.

B. Program of the Progressive Catholic Movement in France

The program of the Progressive Catholic Movement in France is reportedly as follows:

1. To create and develop differences among emigre groups and an atmosphere of demoralization;
2. To divide the emigre intelligentsia from emigre labor and discredit the former with the Americans;

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

3. To persuade the more intelligent emigres to cooperate with the non-political commercial exile organizations controlled by Polish Communists, e.g. purchasing agencies for the Polish art museums. Young emigres are invited to Poland for three months study in the universities, with scholarships provided by Piasecki's organization "Pax."

4. To discredit Free Europe Committee activities with the host governments and to attack the Free Europe Committee all-out as an American institution merely interested in controlling paid agents;

5. To spread rumors that certain prominent members of the exile community are negotiating with Communist agents for return to Poland.

During 1955, Polish Progressive Catholics were sent to France for the purpose of persuading key intellectual exiles to return to Poland.

Recently, Polish Progressive Catholics have been discussing a mass pilgrimage of Poles living in the West to the Shrine of Our Lady of Jasna Gora in Poland, which has both a religious and national significance as a symbol of resistance to the enemy. The pilgrimage has an objective of furthering Progressive Catholic propaganda by creating an image of Communist Poland as a country where there is complete freedom of religion

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

and rapport between Catholics and Communist authorities in the interest of general welfare. This campaign has been aimed principally at the pre-war emigration.

Father Kwasny of the Polish Catholic Mission in France (independent of the Polish Catholic Church) had previously rejected an invitation of Jan Dobraczynski, a Progressive Catholic and a member of the Sejm in Poland, to organize a pilgrimage from France to Czestochowa in connection with the tercentary of the Holy Image. Dobraczynski had affirmed as a member of parliament that Polish emigres from France participating in the pilgrimage would be free to return to the West and would not be subjected to coercion by the Polish authorities. He was expected to visit France again in December, 1955, with the following objectives: 10/

1. To conduct conversations with French Progressive Catholics and Polish emigre intellectuals, and;

2. to devote particular attention to Polish emigre religious circles (mainly the Polish Catholic Mission in France) in order to develop a closer relationship between emigre Catholics and progressive Catholics in Poland.

C. Effectiveness

The Progressive Catholic Movement is probably the strongest ideological weapon available to the regime in its anti-emigre

activity. It is cleverly designed to appeal to two major characteristics of virtually all Poles: identification with the homeland and identification with the faith. The Progressive Catholics offer to the emigre Pole reconciliation with the former without abandoning the latter--a "have your cake and eat it" solution to a problem plaguing the consciences of many emigre Poles.

The Progressive Catholic viewpoint will gain even greater appeal in the context of increased acceptance of the doctrine of coexistence. The Warsaw regime may be expected to argue privately that if political coexistence between the two Blocs is desirable, so is coexistence between non-Communist Catholics and the Communist regime. The effect of this line of thinking on such men as Hugo Hanke has already been shown. Mr. Hanke redefected to Poland having first unsuccessfully sought the approval of the Church. He visited Rome where he presumably hoped to obtain an interview with the Pope; instead, he met Polish Archbishop Gawlina, Papal-appointed Spiritual Protector of Polish Emigres. Once in Warsaw, he announced that he was "very interested" in the movement of progressive Catholics.

We believe that of all long-range regime anti-emigration campaigns, this one might prove most effective. On the other hand, it is this very situation which offers some unique opportunities for the introduction into Poland of sleeper agents under the cover of progressive Catholic redefectors.

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

X. POLISH LANGUAGE GROUP IN THE
FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY

(Headquarters: 8 Avenue Mathurin Moreau, Paris)

A. Origin of the Polish Language Group in the PCF

The Communist movement in the Polish colony in France antedates the Second World War. It was strengthened after the War by Allied recognition of the Warsaw regime which then attempted to persuade Polish emigres in France to return to Poland in view of the Polish need for manual workers.

In 1945, two leading Polish organizations were created in France, with cadres recruited among the emigres and committed to the support of the Warsaw regime: the Polish Workers Party (Polska Partia Robotnicza, PPR--dissolved in 1948) and the Polish National Council (Rada Narodowa Polakow, RNP--dissolved in 1950). 1/ The PPR never had legal status in France and officially existed only as an organization called "Les Amis du PPR" (Friends of the PPR), whose objective was the propagation of Communist ideology among the Polish emigres in France. After its dissolution in April or May 1948, the French Communist Party attempted to regroup the former PPR members and cells. Cell members of the PPR were instructed to join the ranks of the French Communist Party (PCF) and its Polish language group (Grupa Jezykowa). Leaders of the PCF and former

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

leaders of the PPR agreed to form Polish language groups or cells composed solely of juridical Poles or naturalized Frenchmen of Polish origin in order to "satisfy the aspirations" of the Polish emigres and to achieve their own party ends. There had been opposition on the part of Polish emigres to membership in a specifically French organization. Like other foreigners, they were reluctant to give their views before the French membership, preferring to develop their activity in a strictly Polish organization. 2/

Former departmental and regional "responsables" of the PPR were designated to form these groups or cells. These Polish agents of the PCF are little known in general, their true activity being covert. Polish Communist units on the lowest level (kolo) remained untouched and formed Polish language cells of the PCF. Each cell belonged to a territorial section of the PCF as a separate Polish speaking unit of the French Communist organization. 3/

Although separate Polish Communist units did not exist above the cell level, each PCF section, to which at least one Polish cell belonged, had a Polish representative attached to its committee. The same occurred on the Federal Committee level, except that instead of a representative there were a few delegates forming a special Polish section. In areas where the Polish element was insignificant, Polish

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

Communists were represented by liaison officers in the Section or Federal Committee rather than by elected members. 4/

Relations between the Polish language group and the PCF were affected by labor trouble at the end of 1948 when the French Communists were accused of taking unfair advantage of Poles to provide "shock units," thus causing Polish expulsions from France. Also, Polish Communist participation in the mining strikes of October 1948 provoked French measures forbidding foreign Communist activities in France. 5/

The bulletin Poradnik (Counselor), formerly published by the PPR and later an organ of the Polish language groups of the PCF, which contained propaganda articles supporting the Warsaw Government and the Soviet Union, ceased to appear after September 1949. To offset the closing of the Poradnik, the Federal Committee of Nord and Pas de Calais began editing a Polish-language information bulletin Jednosc (Union) for members of the Polish language groups. 6/

Documents seized in November 1949, disclosed that there had been lack of contact between Polish and French cells and that the standard of the former was low. Furthermore, as a consequence of the expulsions of many of their leaders, Polish emigres in general refused to be drawn into PCF activities in fear of police reprisals. 7/

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

To offset the weaknesses in relationships between the French and Polish organizations, a reorganization program had been undertaken in the autumn of 1949, for the purpose of strengthening Polish cadres and of effecting closer unity in each locality between the Polish and French cells. Nevertheless, when, on 20 November 1949, Polish Communists staged an operation in St. Etienne to break up a meeting of the Peasant Party, a "shock unit" proposed by the local French Communists never turned up and the Polish agitators were arrested. 8/

In 1950, the activities of the Polish language groups were directed by Alexander Kowalski, ostensibly a minor official in the Embassy and a former member of the Central Committee of the PPR in France. The head representative of the Polish language group of the Central Committee of the PCF appeared to have been Stanislaw Nowocin, Secretary General of the CGT in Paris. 9/

B. Present Status of the Polish Language Group of the PCF

The Polish language group continues to be attached to and is a subsidiary of the French Communist Party. It is, however, in fact always controlled by the Polish Ambassador to France and the PZPR. 10/

The principal role of the group is to diffuse theories of Communism and pro-Warsaw propaganda. It coordinates the

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

activities of Polish Communist militants who are individually affiliated with the PCF and who participate equally with the French Communists in major campaigns such as the collection of signatures for the Stockholm Peace Appeal and activities in behalf of the World Peace Council. It implements directives of the Warsaw Government received through the PZPR channels in France. As of 1954, liaison between the PZPR and the PCF was carried through Michael Grojnowski, a naturalized Frenchman. 11/ Chief of the Polish Section in the PCF was Joseph Kant.

The Polish language group plays a somewhat autonomous role in the PCF but it has lost much of its importance. As of 1954, its force did not exceed one thousand throughout France, 12/ whereas an estimated two thousand Polish militants, of whom 1,500 were from departments of Nord and Pas de Calais, were affiliated with the PCF in 1950. Expulsions in 1950 of Messrs. Nowocin, Tloczek, Kowalski and Badnura had weakened the organization. 13/

C. Indications of Future Development 14/

There are indications that the French Communist Party has begun to dissolve its foreign language groups as a result of growing discontent and uneasiness, particularly within the Polish group. Members of such groups have been invited to enroll in local cells of the PCF in their respective localities.

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

The reason for the discontent in the language groups is the dual obedience demanded of the "responsables," who are naturalized Frenchmen. On the one hand they have been placed under the authority of the French Communist Party for action within foreign labor. The "responsables," must meet the demands of their French comrades and participate in various propaganda activities in their behalf. The other obedience is to the Satellite governments which claim "authority" over the emigres. The directives of the French Communist Party and those of the Satellite regimes have been often contradictory, resulting in inaction and indecision on the part of the "responsables."

Based on past and present trends, the Polish language groups of the French Communist Party will probably continue to lose influence and importance not only within the Party but also throughout France. Its dwindling membership--an estimated one thousand in 1954--and the fact that it enjoys only a relative autonomy are factors supporting this conclusion. Present indications that the French Communist Party has begun to dissolve the language groups because of a growing discontent, especially among the Poles, point to their declining status.

For these reasons, the role of the Polish language groups within the PCF may well be minimized in our operational

planning. Instead, emphasis might be placed on two other organizations--French-Polish Friendship Society (Amitie-Franco-Polonaise) and Association of People of Polish Origin for the Respect of the Oder-Neisse Frontier (L'Association des Originaires de Pologne pour le Respect des Frontieres sur l'Oder et la Neisse)--both of which wield much stronger influence in France today.

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

XI. POLISH LANGUAGE GROUP IN THE CGT

(Headquarters: Maison des Syndicats, 8 Avenue
Mathurin Moreau, Paris (XIX))

Large masses of Polish workers seeking employment in France after World War I, particularly in the North of France, were difficult to assimilate into the CGT because of language barriers, social and cultural traditions, and a strong emphasis on Catholicism. Because of these factors, the CGT formed a special federation called "La Federation des Emigres Polonais." During the course of 1925, autonomous Polish sections within the CGT were organized in Department Nord of France.

After the Liberation of France in 1945, these Polish sections were reorganized and at the same time new ones were created in other industrial regions of France. The direction of the Polish language sections of CGT was assumed in principle by a Polish National Council (composed of 28 members and elected by Polish language section delegates), which in turn elected a Polish Central Committee (composed of 9 members), presumably in charge of the whole CGT Polish-language structure. Both the Council and the Central Committee were completely disorganized in 1948 by administrative measures taken by the French Government against some of their leaders. 1/

Strikes occurred in the French coal mines in 1948-49 and reprisal measures taken by the French authorities against

SECRET

~~SECRET~~
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

Polish miners who participated weakened the CGT Polish sections. In addition, many Polish miners quit the CGT because of fear of expulsion from France. 2/

As a result of French Government measures (1948-50) which forbade foreign pro-Communist political action in France, the PCF may have decided to shift its action the the Polish Language Group of the CGT. A vigorous reorganization of the Polish language sections in the CGT was initiated in the early part of 1949. It was characterized by intensive strengthening of the sub-sections of Polish workers. It was suggested that the delegate in charge of liaison with French sections ought to be a Frenchman of Polish origin, and that he ought to be a departmental and regional delegate responsible to the national echelon. This reform was designed to restore confidence to the militant Polish syndicalists and to provide impetus to increased activity.

The Warsaw regime and the French directors of CGT worked closely to stimulate the creation of Polish language sections of CGT. 3/ Polish sections and sub-sections of the CGT have been organized among miners and metallurgical workers in departments of Nord, Pas-de-Calais, Moselle, Meurthe-et-Moselle, and Seine-et-Loire, where Polish population is densely centered. In Pas-de-Calais 50 sections of Polish miners affiliated with the CGT were created. These sections

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

had 15,000 members; the section at Lens included 38 subsections and 4,000 "syndiques." In the Department Nord a dozen sections were organized in the Valenciennes and Douai areas but their actual force did not exceed five to six thousand. 4/ Because of the importance of Northern France, the CGT created the office of permanent organizer in the Regional Federation of Miners in Northern France. 5/ Although the Poles operated their own language sections in the CGT, otherwise they had no liberty of action. They have enjoyed only a relative autonomy within the CGT.

At present, the Polish Language Group within the CGT receives its instructions from the "Commission Confederale de la Main d'Oeuvre Immigre" (MOI), a CGT office directed by a Frenchman and including representatives of all foreign language groups. This office is primarily responsible for liaison between the CGT and the foreign language groups and for assuring that CGT instructions are implemented by these groups.

The structural organization of the Polish Language Group of the CGT closely resembles that of the CGT setup. Polish subsections are parallel to the local French sections and are responsible to the General Secretariat of the Polish Language Group in the CGT headquarters in Paris. 6/

The strategic French mining industry presents a somewhat special problem, since in many French mines the Poles constitute

SECRET

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

the majority among the miners working underground, particularly in Pas-de-Calais and Nord Departments.

In 1952, about 62,000 Poles were working in the mines of France. They were concentrated in the following departments:

Pas-de-Calais and Nord:	36,000
Ardennes, Meuse, Moselle, Meuse-et-Moselle	14,000
Mulhouse-Belfort-Doubs	5,000
Allier-Cher-Puy de Dome	4,000
Other Districts	<u>3,000</u>
	62,000

Fifteen per cent (15%) were members of the CGT, ten per cent (10%) were members of the FO, while about eight per cent (8%) belonged to the CFTC. Two thirds of the miners were not organized. 7/

Of the 62 Polish sections affiliated with the CGT in the district of Pas-de-Calais in 1947, only 6 still existed in 1952. 8/

In the 1952 elections of mine delegates, the influence of the Communist CGT declined but it maintained its majority. Many Poles among the miners abstained, while others, although non-Communists, voted for the Communist CGT largely because CGT delegates were able and efficient trade union representatives and the CGT, unlike the FO, was represented everywhere.

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

Communist CGT and CFTC trade unionists argued that the French Socialist Party, the parliamentary representative of FO, presented to the French Parliament a bill which would have deprived foreign workers of their right to participate in electing miner delegates. Many Polish workers did not vote for FO because its leadership did not protest the bill. Actually foreign worker rights were already restricted, since they were entitled to vote only after having lived ten years in France or after having worked at least six years in the French industry. Only a French citizen could be elected delegate. 9/

Leaders of the Polish Language Group of the CGT in 1950 were as follows:

President:	Jean Wawrzyniak
1st Vice-President:	Casimir Malachowski
Head of the Regional Federation of Miners in Northern France: <u>10/</u>	Stanley Podjacki, a naturalized Frenchman.

As of 1954, the Secretary General of the Polish Language Group of the CGT was Stanislaw Walczak, a naturalized Frenchman. He was reported restive because of dual obedience to and contradictory directives from the French Communist Party and the Satellite governments.

The activity of the Polish Language Group was supported until the end of 1953 by a press organ of the CGT, the Polish-language Prawo Ludu (The Right of the People). Since then

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

the CGT has published an internal information bulletin in the Polish language, and the central organ of the mine workers of Pas-de-Calais and Nord, La Tribune des Mineurs, has devoted a page to articles in the Polish language.

Although the Polish CGT has participated in obtaining signatures for the Stockholm Peace Appeal, fought against the Schuman Plan, opposed the threat of the French Government to withdraw French citizenship of former Polish nationals in the CGT, waged vigorous Communist propaganda in the national coal mines elections, and fought ratification of the Bonn and Paris agreements, 11/ there are indications that the French Communist Party is proceeding to dissolve foreign language groups in the CGT, including the Polish group, 12/ because of unrest. A review of CGT membership discloses progressive losses since 1948 and attests to its waning influence:

1947:	nearly 25,000 <u>13/</u>
1950:	80,000 (less than half of the total number of Polish workers in France) <u>14/</u>
1954:	15,000 (more than one third of whom were miners in departments of Nord and Pas-de-Calais). <u>15/</u>

Although the previous large membership may have been reduced to a highly effective hard core of members, the net overall impact of CGT's Polish Language Group on Polish emigration appears to be diminishing. The decline of the Polish Language Group approximately parallels the downward trend of the CGT in general.

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

XII. L'AMITIE FRANCO-POLONAISE

L'Amitie Franco-Polonaise (AFP), 12 bis Av. Elyssee-Reclus, Paris (7), a French association founded in June 1944 by Communist intellectuals, is a non-mass organization with carefully selected membership and is financially supported by the Polish Embassy in France. 1/ As in the case of the French-USSR Society it has liaison with the Central Committee of the PCF.

The danger of the AFP stems from the fact it ensnares many non-Communist French persons, usually either highly placed neutrals or so-called progressive liberals, who are anti-Communist but friendly toward the concept of coexistence with the USSR and the Satellites. 2/ Many outstanding Frenchmen fail to distinguish between Communist and true Polish interests and are duped for the sake of traditional Franco-Polish friendship. 3/

The AFP claimed a membership of approximately 12,000 throughout France in 1954. 4/

The declared objectives of AFP have been: 5/

1. To further rapprochement between France and Poland as a basis for a new European order of "liberty and democracy;"
2. To fight against German militarism;

SECRET

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

3. To maintain the Oder-Neisse frontier;
4. To oppose discrimination against Polish emigres in France; 6/
5. To favor reciprocal cultural and commercial exchange between the two countries;
6. To campaign for the defeat of Western alliance systems.

AFP is administered by a National Committee elected annually by a General Assembly. This committee was reportedly composed in 1954 of the following members: 7/

President: Frederic Joliot-Curie

Vice Presidents: Francois Ambriere
Wanda Causse-Ratuld
Paul Cazin
Eugene Cotton
Mario Couste
Victorio Duguet
Daniel Faucher
Alfred Fichelle
Rene Piccard
Michel Polonski
Paul Rivet
Emil Tersen

Secretary General: Jean Noaro

Secretary General: Jean Huggonot
Assistants: Lucien Laurent

Treasurer: Eugene Courtel

Although this organization is nominally headed by the well-known French scientist, Frederic Joliot-Curie, the real working trio are Jean Noaro, Rene Bidouze and Mlle. Christiane

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

Lacour. A large role is played by Mr. Maranne (fnu), who conducts liaison between the AFP and the Association for the Defense of the Boundary on the Oder and Neisse Rivers.

The main activists are Maurice Baquet, former director of "Institut National des Sports," active in youth sports organizations; Paul Chevallier, Professor of Medicine who works in the Comite Francais des Defense des Immigres; Georges Fournier, Professor of Chemistry, one of the leaders of "Paix et Democratie" (a clandestine Communist organization penetrating the ranks of religious orders), and a member of considerable influence in the "Union des Intellectuals Francais pour la Justice et la Liberte"; Emil Tersen, Professor of History, who maintains contacts with Polish and French intellectuals; Henri Wallon, Chairman of the "Centre Laigne de Formation du Personnel d'Encaudrement des Oeuvres pour l'Enfance," who serves in the field of training teachers and instructors for Polish children and youth summer camps. 8/

Key personnel of local committees which are established in communities with substantial Polish population are drawn from such groups as the Polish Red Cross and the Polish language groups of PCF and CGT. The most active committees are those in the departments of Nord and Pas-de-Calais.

The AFP publishes a monthly review, Peuples Amis, directed by M. Paul Vienney, which draws upon the columns of the

SECRET

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

extreme-left press. The organization uses various means to achieve its ends, depending upon the particular circumstances. On many occasions it sponsors celebrations, reunions and conferences, and uses pamphlets and film projections to attract and propagandize audiences. It promotes an annual "Franco-Polish Friendship Month" 9/ and even campaigned in 1954 against the refusal of Canadian authorities to return cultural objects to Poland.

Blatant support of Communist policies was reflected in the AFP-sponsored "L'Exposition d'Arts Graphiques Polonais," which opened on 4 May 1954 in the fashionable Elysee district of Paris. Polish Communist posters were brought especially from Warsaw for this event. Special printed post-cards addressed to the President of the French Republic were distributed to the visitors. 10/

In 1954, the Director's Committee of AFP asked the nine French deputies who visited Poland in December 1952 to protest in the National Assembly against the periodic suppression of the "democratic" Polish-language press in France. The Committee pointed out that during 1951-52 eight publications had been suppressed by French ministerial decree. 11/

The AFP has campaigned against the Paris agreements and in defense of the Oder-Neisse frontier. Last year it praised the Polish Government's decision to reduce the strength of

SECRET

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

its armed forces as a contribution toward peace. 12/ The AFP called on the French people to demand that the Foreign Ministers' Conference at Geneva achieve positive results. It officially resolved to support all efforts in that direction, and to work for a peaceful settlement of the German problem. 13/

It is significant that the major part of the Polish Communist activities in France have been carried on through Amitie-Franco Polonaise. Although it is a non-mass organization with selected membership, it is effective in its appeal to traditional Franco-Polish friendship among key French individuals who make no distinction between Communist and true Polish interests. Themes such as the concept of co-existence and the danger of resurgent German militarism appeal to both Frenchmen and Polish emigres. The fact that the AFP champions the cause of Polish emigres against discrimination also aids its cause.

Much can be achieved by revealing to the uncommitted elements in France the source of control and support on which AFP operations are based.

SECRET

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

XIII. APON

(Association of People of Polish Origin for the Respect of the Oder-Neisse Frontiers--Association des Originaires de Pologne pour le Respect des Frontiers sur L'Oder et la Neisse--Stowarzyszenie Obroncow Granicy na Odrze)

(Headquarters: 9 Cite du Retiro, Paris (VIII), France)

A. Activities

The Association of People of Polish Origin for the Respect of the Oder-Neisse Frontiers (APON) was organized by the Warsaw Government in France on 22 December 1950 to propagandize for the retention of its western frontiers with Germany, provisionally ceded to Poland after World War II, and to attract into this Communist-dominated organization emigres to whom such propaganda appealed. While it primarily functions among French citizens of Polish extraction, APON does not neglect those Poles who for various reasons have not applied for French citizenship. It represents itself as a purely patriotic association and stresses its apolitical character, but actually is dependent upon the Polish Embassy in France.

It was established for the ostensible purpose of rallying outstanding French personalities to collaborate on the problem of Germany. It concentrates on the theme of the danger of resurgent German militarism, and appeals to all those elements which had particularly suffered from the Germans during the last war 1/ Both the Poles and the French are particularly

SECRET

susceptible to this propaganda. Thus, the ideological basis for APON's existence is the similarity of French and Polish fears. APON exploits Polish patriotism by creating determination to defend the Oder-Neisse border; it exploits French and Polish fears of Germany by creating opposition to the rearmament of Germany. The corollary argument is that the preservation of the Oder-Neisse frontier is the best guarantee against the threat of German militarism and for the furtherance of peace.

Thus, the official purpose of APON is to convince the French that the present Polish-German frontier serves not only the interests of Poland but also those of France. Any attempts to revise it, according to APON, would result in war. 2/ APON propaganda often accuses the United States and its Allies of supporting a revisionist campaign against the Oder-Neisse frontier and points out that the USSR is opposed to such a plan. Simultaneously, it discounts the pledge of the West German Government not to change Germany's borders by recourse to armed force. 3/

The activities of the APON have ranged from espionage to propaganda. Within two years after APON's establishment, one of its Polish-born, French-naturalized leaders, Moise Michel Grojnowski, instructed five pro-Warsaw Poles in France to contact Polish soldiers employed by the American troops at Fontainebleau as well as certain American soldiers of Polish

NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

origin attached to SHAPE. The objective was presumably penetration of SHAPE. 4/

Along with the Polish Embassy in France, the Polish Red Cross and the French-Polish Friendship Society, APON has been active as an instrument in the redefection and repatriation program. It actively engages in recruiting youth for vacation holiday camps and it assists Polish parents in France to send their children for holidays in Poland by assuming their expenses. The apparent non-party character of APON has aided in winning the confidence of parents who distrust Communists. 5/

Another effective means employed by APON among Polish emigres are the so-called "Odra-Nyssa Solidarity Cards" which it distributes in large numbers to create good-will within the emigration. These cards are supposed to grant priority in applications for French naturalization; for holders who do not choose to take advantage of this opportunity, the Polish Embassy will presumably secure particularly advantageous conditions of return to and resettlement in Poland. 6/

APON has attempted to gain partial endorsement of its program and objectives by the Catholic Church by repeatedly suggesting that Polish Catholics call upon the Pope to nominate Polish bishops for the Oder-Neisse area. The APON has hoped that such a gesture would show that the Head of the Catholic Church formally recognized the Oder-Neisse territory as an

SECRET

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

integral part of Poland. 7/ Whenever the Vatican has refused to meet these requests, APON has attacked the official Vatican organ, the Osservatore Romano, cleverly refraining from personally attacking the Pope. 8/

The APON was particularly active following the victory of Chancellor Adenauer in the West German election of 1953, sacrificing to some extent its pretense of being a purely patriotic organization.

On 30-31 January 1954 a national conference of APON discussed the defense of the Oder-Neisse frontiers and the reconstruction of the German Army. In spite of the fact that the 30 January 1954 issue of L'Humanite had announced the session as "public," strict security precautions prevailed. A security check was made at the entrance to the hall, the only persons admitted being those who held either a delegate's authorization or a membership card of the French Communist Party. 9/ In accordance with APON's consistent opposition to the Western alliance system, the chairman took a strong stand against the Bonn and Paris accords, stressing that these agreements could actually force French troops to give their lives for the German cause and for the annexation of Polish territory, and that these agreements would result in many Frenchmen of Polish origin being forced to fire upon their Polish brothers. A resolution called for a united front against German rearmament and aggression. 10/

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

The political atmosphere of 1954 contributed toward the development of APON. The USSR strove to use for its own propaganda purposes the so-called "pro-German policy of the United States" by trying to persuade Frenchmen that only the USSR and its Satellites can successfully counter-balance the danger of renascent German militarism and nationalism. 11/

Furthermore, the negative attitude of the Mendes-France Government toward EDC provided APON with an excuse to increase its activities. It distributed 110,000 propaganda leaflets and sent forty-two activists to the provinces on special propaganda missions. 12/

APON was successful in obtaining letters of introduction and credentials from members of various political parties, enabling it to infiltrate unsuspecting Polish communities and diffuse its Communist propaganda. 13/ Finally, APON was partly instrumental in organizing the visits to Poland by members of the French Parliament in 1953 and by leading French personalities during the Holy Week in 1954.

B. Organization

APON is registered as a French organization. Its National Council includes the President, the Directors Bureau, the "responsables" of departmental and local committees, and all political activists.

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

SECRET
NOFORN/CONTINUED CONTROL

The President of APON is Dr. Irene Strozecka, former vice-president, who replaced the late Henri de Korab-Kucharski; the remaining posts are filled by French naturalized Poles. All APON directors have been "militant Communists" with long histories of pro-Warsaw activity. Political activity is directed by Michael Grojnowski.

The Directors Bureau is composed of the following members:

President:	Dr. Irene Strozecka, succeeding the late Henri de Korab-Kucharski who died on 28 December 1954.
Secretary General:	Moise Michael Grojnowski
Treasurer-Administrator:	Ester Begot (1954)

Key personalities of local committees, which are established in communities with substantial Polish population, are drawn from such groups as the Polish Red Cross, the French-Polish Friendship Society, and Polish Language Groups of the PCF and the CGT. In 1954, however, the local "responsables" received an order to make contact with anti-Warsaw Poles and to have them participate in local committees, at the same time placing one or two reliable individuals at the head of each unit to orient it and control it. 14/

The scope of APON's organization was indicated in 1953, when it had branched out into fifty-nine French departments and into 380 communes. The assistants of the late Henri de

SECRET

Korab, former president of APON, regularly visited the provinces, especially the mining centers of Nord and Pas-de-Calais. 15/

The Youth Department of APON, established under Robert Zak, a naturalized French citizen of Polish origin and a member of the French Communist Party, 16/ had in February 1954 seven cells and a monthly financial income of 130,000 francs derived from the Polish Red Cross. 17/ In February 1955, the Youth Department had 96 cells and monthly funds totalling 480,000 francs. It worked vigorously and quite successfully on the project of recruiting Polish children for a vacation trip to Poland. 18/

A Workers Department of APON was established in 1954. Its leader then was Joseph Kant, Chief of Polish Section in the PCF and member of the Regional Federation of Miners of Nord and Pas-de-calais departments.

The appointments of the above two well-known Communists, Robert Zak and Joseph Kant, as organizers of the Youth Department and the Workers Departments, respectively, was a departure from APON's previous policy of avoiding any semblance of Communist character. 19/

APON's publications have included the Bulletin Interieur (1952), a monthly devoted to propaganda for retention of the Oder-Neisse frontier and to "peace" propaganda, particularly when the latter could be used to further the claim that Germany's present eastern frontier constitutes a peace boundary. In 1953, APON published the Oder-Neisse, a bulletin in French

and Polish editions, with 35,000 copies distributed to French and Polish milieus.

APON's growing effectiveness as a major Communist instrument of political action was shown in March 1954, when a number of prominent French citizens, who represented neutralist rather than Communist tendencies, declared their support of the organization. 20/ It is now one of the most effective instruments of the Warsaw regime in France because of its successful appeals to those French and Polish elements which otherwise distrust Communism. APON has exercised considerable influence on high French officials and, indirectly, on French policies.